

INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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TIRANA, 1969



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INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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RESOLUTION

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA ON PROCLAIMING 1969 A JUBI- LEAN YEAR TO CELEBRATE THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

On November 29 this year, the Albanian people celebrate the 25th anniversary of the liberation of their country and of the triumph of the people's revolution, two most outstanding events in their glorious history which paved the way to the transformation of their country into a free socialist State, into an invincible bastion of socialism in Europe.

This has been achieved by the Albanian people under conditions of capitalist and revisionist encirclement, thanks to the farsighted Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party (now Party of Labor) of Albania, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, to the legendary National-liberation War they waged against the nazi-fascist invaders and local traitors and to the self-sacrificing and gifted work they have done and are doing to build socialism relying on their own resources.

With a view to celebrating this glorious jubilee in a magnificent way, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

Resolved

1. To proclaim 1969 a jubilean year to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland and of the triumph of our people's revolution.

2. To have the celebration of the great jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution help portray the glorious past of the National-liberation War and the major victories scored by the People's Republic of Albania which, during this quarter of a century, has radically changed and turned into a strong and prosperous socialist country boasting of a developing industry, advanced collective agriculture, high socialist education and culture, of a People's Army equipped with up-to-date technique and of a glorious people who, endowed with a high political, class and revolutionary awareness, are carrying the socialist revolution through to final victory.

3. To turn the celebration of this eminent jubilee into a great political action helping to raise to a higher level the revolutionary drive which has gripped the people's masses throughout our country to translate into life the historic decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and the teachings by Comrade Enver Hoxha to further revolutionize the whole life of the country, into a political action to carry out and further promote the major initiatives which have been taken by the laboring masses in urban and rural areas, to perfect socialist relations in production, to increase production and improve its quality, showing special concern to the deepening of the technological-scientific revolution and scientific experimentation so that the 4th Five-year plan may be fulfilled before schedule and that the well-being and standard of living of the Albanian people may continually rise.

This campaign should be made full use of to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat all round, to extend the control by the working class to all domains of life, to fight against bureaucratic manifestations, to strengthen the revolutionary alliance and the firm revolutionary solidarity of the working class with the laboring peasantry and people's intelligentsia, to strengthen proletarian discipline in all spheres of work, to heighten vigilance, preparedness and the defense potential of our socialist homeland.

All-round ideological, political and cultural work should be done during this jubilean year to bring about the class education and revolutionary uplift of the masses, especially, of the younger generation so that the jubilee celebrating the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of

the triumph of the people's revolution may give a further push to deepening the ideological and cultural revolution, to up-rooting everything inherited from the old feudal-bourgeois, revisionist, pettybourgeois, religious, patriarchal, conservatory and other ideologies. In this respect, an important place should be reserved to the study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works. Mastering these works and other documents of the Party should serve as a powerful means to imbue our new man with proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the high spirit of proletarian internationalism and as a source of inspiration to successfully solve the tasks the complete construction of socialist and communist society lays before us.

This campaign should help deepen the struggle for the all-out revolutionization of education, culture, art and science, drawing into this struggle the thinking of the broad masses of workers, peasants, army men and of the people's intelligentsia.

It should help raise to a higher level the struggle for the complete emancipation of women and carry always ahead the mass heroism of the laboring people who, inspired by the Party slogan: «One for all and all for one», have taken important ideological initiatives and actions to place public above personal interests everywhere and in everything.

4. The jubilean year to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution should help to further strengthen the unbreakable militant unity of our people in the Democratic Front around the Party Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead, unity which is the principal guarantee for the present and future happiness of socialist Albania.

5. This jubilean year should spur us to greater propaganda work to further strengthen the militant friendship of the Albanian people with the great Chinese people and with all the revolutionary peoples and Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world, to continually expose U.S.-led imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist leadership.

6. Within the framework of this glorious jubilee and under the slogan «Socialist Albania in its 25th Anniversary»

there should be organized mass political, scientific, cultural, artistic, sports and other activities and manifestations throughout the country. A Central Committee will be set up to be headed by Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and Deputy-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Haki Toska, to organize the celebration of this jubilee.

7. The Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania call upon all communists, upon all our marvellous people, under the Party leadership headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, to turn 1969, the glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution into a year of an irresistible drive in all fields to step up, with optimism and high revolutionary vigilance, the complete construction of socialist society in our country, to make our socialist homeland more powerful and more prosperous, to speed up the triumph of our glorious Marxist-Leninist ideology all over the world.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Tirana January 16, 1969

A reportage under the caption «He Came From And Remained In The Field Of Production» appeared in the 1969 January 22nd issue of the «Zëri i Popullit» daily on the work of communist brigade-leader Alo Qose from Sojnik in the Gramshi district.

On January 25, 1969, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed this letter to communist Alo Qose:

Dear Comrade Brigade-leader Alo Qose from Sojnik in Gramshi!

Hearty greetings to you. I learned about your work from an article by the «Zëri i Popullit» correspondent Jorgji Papa who wrote in realistic and enthusiastic terms about you.

I am very glad of this and our Party should be proud of members like you who grasp aright and implement its line so successfully. Through your work and courage as a communist and the tangible results you have achieved, you do not only honor the Party and the people in fulfilling the tasks they have entrusted to you but, by the example you set at work, you confirm, at the same time, the correctness of the directives of the Party regarding agriculture, showing to others by your deeds that you can superintend but also produce, that one who produces is a better superintendent. And this is the best way to superintend, for it is anti-bureaucratic.

Your work shows, likewise, what great material and moral values are produced by a non-bureaucratic approach when one is closely linked with concrete work, with the rank and file of the people who work, strive and produce, when the working people see the good work of their foreman and are convinced that the most perfect way of supervision lies in common creative efforts.

A good leader is not the one who gives orders and issues instructions from afar but the one who also applies these

instructions himself, who gives proof of the correctness of these orders and instructions through carrying them out himself, who takes active part in carrying them out and is the first to set the good example, who lends an attentive ear to the voice of the masses, for the masses are both the main producers and supervisors. You are applying all these methods in an exemplary way, that is why I am so glad about your work and get inspiration from it, Comrade communist Alo Qose.

When you were a simple member of the cooperative, you completed 400 days of work a year and at the most difficult jobs at that, while your fellow cooperative workers could hardly complete 280. When your fellow cooperative workers chose you as their foreman you did not put on airs but carried out your task with a higher sense of responsibility, became more enterprising and tackled your job with multiplied physical and moral strength. «It was hard to tell the foreman from his dependents at work», wrote the «Zëri i Popullit» correspondent.

In 1967, too, as a foreman you did 180 standard days of work while the foremen of other brigades hardly did 60. You did not rest on your laurels. As a gifted worker and foreman, you carried your pick and hoe with you wherever you went, you supervised, advised and took a hand at work, you were not content with what you did and that's why you completed 230 standard days of work in 1968. By the example you set, you did not only win the hearts of your fellow cooperative members but, by the results you attained, you stirred up any eventual loafer of the team. When the latter's case came up for discussion at the brigade, you, Alo Qose, treated him correctly and in a communist manner and by this you helped him turn from a loafer to a diligent worker.

Together with your fellow workers, you verified also the advantage of adopting collective quotas of work. You worked together so as to understand that the essence of work quotas lies not only on physical exertion but also on the political work of raising the communist sense of duty of cooperative members. At your cooperative, this brought about a general rise, a rise in work output, in reclaiming new lands and in over-reaching its planned targets and those of production.

The personal example you set at work mobilizes the brigade. You proposed to raise the work quota for deep tillage from 15 meters, which each member of the team used to do,

to 25 meters. Someone in the team said that it was impossible to dig 25 meters a day on brushland. But you took up the spade and dug 35 meters. Through your inspiring example and your spirit of a gifted organizer, the other members of the brigade surpassed you by spading up 38 meters and, no doubt, you felt happy about it. The brigade cultivated 350 meters of corn a day. You considered this too low and proposed to raise the daily quota to 500 meters a day. Some cooperative members said that this was too high. But you took up the hoe yourself and, by cultivating 700 meters in one day, proved in practice that your proposal was realistic. And, prompted by the example you set, the cooperative members succeeded in cultivating more than you had proposed, from 500 they cultivated 600 meters; there were workers who surpassed even you, gifted foreman, and cultivated 800 meters.

The fine example you set inspired and mobilized all the other brigade leaders of the Sojnik mountainland cooperative who raised their direct participation in production to 180 days of work a year while you pledged to do 300 days of work during the current year.

I heartily congratulate you, dear communist comrade, and wish that all the foremen, cooperative members, heads of cooperatives and managers of all State enterprises will follow your example at work and at management.

Personally, I cherish the best of memories of the heroic period of the National-liberation war I have spent in the mountain villages of the Gramshi district where I have lived and fought side by side with the peasants of Holt, Poroçan, Kishta, Sojnik, Grabova, Shënepremte, etc. and felt at close hand the brave and magnanimous pulse of the patriotic peasants of this region beat for the Communist (now Labor) Party of Albania.

Today, the Gramshi region is also developing, advancing and flourishing. An even brighter future lies ahead for the people of that region. This is warranted and being brought about by our great Party in the lead of our marvellous people.

I embrace you, dear Comrade, and wish you good health and much success in the service of the people along the line and under the guidance of the Party.

Yours,
(signed) Enver

Tirana, January 23, 1969

A Forum of the Gjirokastra district cadres was held in that city on February 3, 1969 to take up the letter Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote to communist brigade-leader Alo Qose from Sojnik in Gramshi.

Those taking part at the Forum were managers of agricultural cooperatives and of economic enterprises, specialists, brigade leaders and outstanding workers in production, secretaries of Party grass-root organizations and others.

Present at the Forum was also Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA Mehmet Shehu who delivered this speech:

Dear Comrade Brigade-leaders, Specialists, Cadres of the Economic, State and Party Organs of the Gjirokastra District!

I am very glad to have been given the opportunity to take part here today at this enlarged meeting where you have taken up for discussion a very important topic, namely, Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose of the Sojnik cooperative in the Gramshi district on January 23 of the current year.

Inspired by Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter and the grand example set by silent hero Alo Qose, you have taken the unanimous decision to adopt brigade leader Alo Qose's great example of a proletarian revolutionary approach towards work and Comrade Enver Hoxha's great Marxist-Leninist teaching as a banner to further deepen the revolution, to further revolutionize yourselves and socialist relations in production.

This shows the high level of your socialist awareness, your determination to carry through to the end and consistently the Party line and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. The stand you take in this matter in itself is a great revolutionary example which gladdens us all to the uttermost. For me this meeting is a great school.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, I congratulate you for this high revolutionary spirit prevailing in your ranks and wish you will always hold aloft the great banner of our glorious Party like genuine revolutionaries, like devoted servants of the people, like zealous builders of socialism.

The question you took up for discussion is of special importance to the further revolutionization of cadres. I would also like to enlarge a bit on this matter, that is, on comrade Alo Qose's example and Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter, since they deal with one of the basic aspects of our Party's general line to complete the building of socialist society, they deal with the continuous perfection of socialist relations between cadres and the masses as well as within the ranks of the masses themselves.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter addressed to communist brigade-leader Alo Qose is not a part of the usual correspondence between the Party leader and a simple cooperative worker but a great dialog between the Party leader and the people, a dialog with the working class and the laboring peasantry, with the rank and file, with those who are the real makers of history; it is an intimate conversation between the Party Central Committee and the leading Party and State cadres; it is a great proof of the Party's links with the cadres and masses, of the great proletarian unity of the leadership with the grass-root organizations.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose shows the revolutionary ability of the Party Central Committee to pick on the best of the many good examples, to sum up the best example in a revolutionary way so that our revolution may always push ahead to complete victory making it impossible for revisionism to crop up its head and for capitalism to be restored in our country.

Communist Alo Qose is a silent hero; he works with self-denial to accomplish his job as a soldier of the revolution, as a true communist, as a devoted servant of the people. He does not put on airs nor does he side-brush others to get

ahead and make a career; he is polite to his fellow workers and to all the cooperative members; he sets a great example for all those around him.

It is important to point out here how this silent hero Alo Qose was discovered. He was discovered not because of having advertised himself but because he has always wielded his pick with his head bent like the wheat stalk with ears bent under the weight of the grains that fill them and distinguishing itself from the other ears in the wheat field. The first to write about Alo Qose was the «Zëri i Popullit» correspondent. No doubt, all have read this article of the «Zëri i Popullit» correspondent about Alo Qose. They have read it as they read any ordinary newspaper article, many, if not the majority, have just passed an eye over it without being deeply impressed. But there you have now Comrade Enver Hoxha's January, 25 letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose appearing two days ago as a leader in the «Zëri i Popullit» daily.

What does this signify? Why, for instance, have you, who are gathered here today, not taken the decision to follow brigade-leader Alo Qose's example before Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter had been published in the «Zëri i Popullit»? You did not do this and nobody did this because when we read the press or listen to the radio, which transmit the voice of the Party and of the masses, we are not yet capable of singling out the best from among the good, the laden from the ordinary ear of corn, at the proper time and in the proper way; we do not know how to get hold of the main link, to stick to what may, at first sight, seem insignificant but which has a future before it, at the proper time and in the proper way. Whereas, Comrade Enver Hoxha, having got acquainted with brigade-leader Alo Qose through the columns of the «Zëri i Popullit» daily, stopped to pick up a «conversation» with this exemplary foreman and did not pass by without even saying «Good Morning!» to him as many might have done.

This is a great lesson for all of us; we should all learn from Comrade Enver Hoxha how to assess issues, events and phenomena. Had Comrade Enver Hoxha not written in the «Zëri i Popullit» about brigade-leader Alo Qose, you would most probably not have gathered here to take the great and inspiring decision you have taken, and brigade-leader Alo Qose's great example would have lain «dormant» as a latent, undiscovered and unutilized reserve among the people.

Therefore, the first conclusion for us to draw from this

should be: to learn from Comrade Enver Hoxha how to apply the revolutionary method and style of work in sizing up aright all phenomena, how to grasp, in time and in the proper way, the example of the best and how to spread this good example, how to sum up the best experience.

Let this occasion, therefore, prompt us all to read the Party press not as a pastime, not to satisfy our curiosity, but to learn the revolutionary truth, to be inspired by it, to sum up what is good, to discard what is bad and to forge always ahead along the path the Party blazes for us.

Comrades, this is of major importance because spreading advanced experience and summing up good examples are the principal method of ensuring an uninterrupted development of our society.

There is no brigade, cooperative, firm, school, workers' collective, administration where one can not find a good example to stand above others. It is precisely here that our greatest latent reserves lie. The difference between the levels of the laggards and the average plus the difference between the levels of the average and the best example, the best experience, which have been effectively reached, make up the latent reserves. Raising the level of laggards to that of the average and that of the average to the level of the most advanced constitutes in itself the summing up of the best examples, the summing up of the advanced experience, marking the dialectic course of development. And this course of development is never interrupted for, while raising the average level to that of the better example, there are bound to spring up other and even better examples, so that the average is always on the run to catch up with the better example and, thus, development and progress never mark time.

Therefore, catching up with the better example, with the better experience, and summing up this better example and better experience constitute the principal link in the revolutionary method of work. In this, too, Comrade Enver Hoxha has taught us a great lesson. Let us profit from this great lesson and put it into practice and then there will be no task which we will not be able to tackle with success in the domain of production, education or culture, in the domain of educating people, in every domain of our life.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose touches the core of the method of how to keep perfecting

the relations between the cadres and the masses. This problem has always been the main concern of our Party, and the relations between our cadres and the masses have kept improving, they are revolutionary relations, relations of comradeship and fraternal collaboration for the same objective, namely, for building socialism. And it is precisely because this is so, because there exist such relations between our Party and our people, between our cadres and the masses, because we boast of such leadership, such cadres and such people, that the Party of Labor of Albania has long become a source of inspiration also for other people and for other revolutionaries; that is why the People's Republic of Albania did not sink into the pitfall of revisionism, like the Soviet Union and certain other countries which used to be socialist countries and are now run by revisionist cliques, but has become a strong bastion of socialism in Europe which no imperialists and no revisionists can overpower; that's why the Albanian people, under the heroic and glorious guidance of their Party of Labor headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, are triumphantly marching along the path of completing the building of socialist society, towards communism, breasting through the counter-revolutionary storm of imperialist and revisionist Europe.

In his letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose, Comrade Enver Hoxha refers to a number of important problems but I shall deal here especially with two simple but great, concrete and principled ones, namely, with the direct participation of cadres in work of production and with collective quotas of work. These are two problems of major principled importance to our revolutionary practice because they deal with socialist relations in production and with the revolutionary method of continually perfecting these relations and revolutionizing the cadres themselves at present and in the days to come.

It is a known fact that the 1967 April 29th Statement of the Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers «On the Further and Deeper Development of the Revolutionary Movements and the Creative Initiative of the Laboring Masses» upholds the revolutionary initiative of the cadres of the Trashani Agricultural Cooperative and of the «Enver» Workshop to take direct part in production at the same time that they also fill the functions of managers. This major revolutionary initiative spread throughout the country and, today, all leading cadres, ranging from the brigade-leaders to as far up as the members of the Party Central Committee or of the Council

of Ministers (excluding those of advanced age — men above 55 and women above 50 — and the physically disabled ones) take direct part in the work of production regularly and, at the same time, fulfil the functions they have been assigned to.

Why has the Party Central Committee upheld and upheld firmly the direct participation of cadres in the work of production, in manual labor?

Speaking of the significance of the initiative taken by the cadres of the Trashani Agricultural Cooperative and of the «Enver» Workshop, Comrade Enver has said: «...these praiseworthy initiatives contain a major ideological and political inspiration, because those who take these initiatives and carry them out ingratiate with the masses, narrow down the gap between mental and manual labor... these initiatives further revolutionize the ideas of management, establish new norms, norms of a deeper and more revolutionary Marxist-Leninist content.» Our cadres, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «should smudge their hands with grease and their boots with mud, they should listen to the grievances of workers, their needs and work not from the office but should come down to the grass-roots and, in this way, our people in leading posts should also rid themselves of bureaucratism, of manifestations of overbearance and arrogance, of the disease of commandeering and of nepotism with which are mostly infected those who, being vested with authority, think they are the only ones who create everything, that, without them, the work cannot go ahead».

And in his letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «A good leader is not the one who gives orders and issues instructions from afar but the one who also applies these instructions himself, who gives proof of the correctness of these orders and instructions through carrying them out himself, who takes active part in carrying them out and is the first to set the example and the good example, who lends an attentive ear to the voice of the masses, for the masses are the main producers and supervisors at the same time».

In order to realize how important the direct participation of cadres in the work of production is to the destiny of socialism, it were well to first remind ourselves of the dangers that the bureaucratization of cadres, their alienation from the masses, their change from servants to arbitrary rulers and exploiters of the masses, contain in themselves for the destiny of socialism.

In this regard we should learn a lot from the negative example of the terrible tragedy which has taken place in the Soviet Union and in many other countries where the modern revisionists have come to power.

What method did Khrushchev use to establish revisionism in the Soviet Union? Khrushchev's counter-revolutionary methods were many and of many kinds; they began with the ideological degeneration of the Party and cadres, by inculcating among the latter the sense of placing personal above general interest, then passed over to the radical and flagrant revision of the Party's ideological line — to the creation of a new exploiting class as the social basis on which to establish revisionism — and, finally, to the complete establishment of the power of the new bourgeoisie born and grown up under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How did Khrushchev degenerate and corrupt the cadres in the Soviet Union, how did he turn them from servants of the people to arbitrary rulers over them, to servants of the bourgeoisie? To achieve this, Khrushchev launched, right from the start, the slogan «Economy first!» that means that the cadres and the masses should give up politics and ideology and concentrate only on economic matters, divesting these of political and ideological content. Hence, the concept of economism in the Soviet Union, that is, giving priority to material over moral stimuli, placing personal over general interest in the broader sense of this term. Those cadres who stood loyal to the revolution and to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin were dismissed from their leading posts and were hurled into isolation and misery, they were ruthlessly persecuted; whereas, the other cadres were intoxicated, at once and with astounding speed, by the sentiment of personal interest, looking down upon the masses, running wild after money, after comfort and ease and after careers, each trying to acquire as much, to grab as much, to work as little as possible and to lead a life of dissipation; the masses were puzzled, lost all control on the cadres; a new bourgeoisie of the working class was thus set up, the new bourgeoisie who exploit the laboring masses, this time, under the banner of revolution, of Lenin.

Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat turned to the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union turned from a socialist country to a revisionist one, to a capitalist one. Finally, through its aggression of the fascist type against the Czechoslovak people, the Soviet Union, ruled by the

Khrushchevite revisionist clique, appeared on the international arena as an imperialist state with profound fascist tendencies.

Wherein does the origin of all this work, of all this appalling tragedy lie? The origin of this appalling tragedy lies in the ideologic degeneration of the party and of the cadres, in the alienation of the latter from the masses, in the bureaucratization of cadres turning them from servants of to rulers over the people; and the cadres turned to such from the time they began to adopt the revisionist and antisocialist ideas of economism, to place personal over general interests, upsetting, in this manner, socialist relations in production and replacing them with relations between exploiters and the exploited.

The bitter experience of the tragedy which took place in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists came to power, goes to show that the establishment of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in a country where the dictatorship of the proletariat had once been established pass through the violation of and doing away with and then replacing socialist relations in production with relations between exploiters and the exploited.

Socialist relations in production spring from the very socialist nature of production. These relations either keep becoming more and more perfect and lead to the complete triumph of the socialist way of development or cease from becoming perfect and then are violated and, finally, turn to relations between exploiters and the exploited, that is, lead to upsetting the socialist way and replacing it with the capitalist way, to the overthrow of socialism and the complete restoration of capitalism.

One of the most important aspects of socialist relations in production is the establishment of correct relations between the management and the masses, between the cadres and the masses in every field of activity and of the socialist life of the country.

Historical experience and day-to-day practice confirm clearly that in socialist society the existence of the contradiction between the laboring masses, on one hand, and the leading cadres, on the other, are inevitable. A contradiction between the masses and cadres exists also in capitalist society. But while the contradiction in capitalist society between the laboring masses who are exploited, on the one hand, and the leading cadres who are in the service of the bourgeoisie to exploit the masses, on the other, is of an antagonistic na-

ture, in socialist society it is quite different; in socialist society the contradiction between the laboring masses and cadres is of a non-antagonistic nature, is a contradiction within the ranks of the people, because the cadres serve the interests of the laboring masses and the relations between cadres and the masses are built on the basis of comradesly and fraternal collaboration and not on the basis of exploitation as in capitalist society. Except that if the contradiction between cadres and the masses in socialist society is not solved along correct lines, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it may turn, and it is bound to turn, from a non-antagonistic within the ranks of the people to an antagonistic, hostile, irreconcilable contradiction where cadres or people in leading posts begin to go counter to the masses, to go counter to the interests of the laboring masses, turning gradually to exploiters of the laboring masses and, in this way, the socialist relations in production turn to relations between exploiters and the exploited, that is, to capitalist relations, exactly what took place in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists came to power.

Delving deep into and making a Marxist-Leninist scientific study of the bitter experience of the revisionist tragedy that took place in the Soviet Union and in many other countries, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn the necessary lessons, the logical conclusions and have taken and will take all the necessary measures not to allow, in any way, the creation among us of a new aristocracy of the working class, of a stratum of new bourgeois through bureaucratization, through the process of turning the contradiction between the leadership and the masses from a non-antagonistic contradiction within the ranks of the people to an antagonistic contradiction. It is precisely to this end that point also the major revolutionary initiatives taken by our wonderful cadres, under the inspiration of the teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, to ingratiate with the masses by taking direct part in the work of production, by maintaining a correct revolutionary attitude towards work like that maintained by the resolved revolutionary brigade-leader Alo Qose and thousands upon thousands of cadres of our country.

Our Party teaches us that the bureaucratization of cadres is bound to lead to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. But experience verifies also that the full implementation of the line of the masses, which

constitutes the foundation of the Party's general line, is the only way to ward off the bureaucratization of cadres, it verifies that the organic blending of cadres with the laboring masses, their becoming first learners from and then teachers to and leaders of the masses is the only way to prevent the cadres from becoming bureaucratic, the only way to ward off the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country.

The total number of cadres makes up about one-fifth of the total number of workers in our country. This big contingent of leading cadres constitutes a valuable asset of our Party and people. But if this contingent of cadres are not educated aright and to the necessary level from the political and ideological point of view, if they fail to comply with the Marxist-Leninist norms in their relations with the masses, then the cadres may inevitably become bourgeois and degenerate, just as in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries. Our Party will never allow a thing of this kind to happen in our country. That is why it is specially and earnestly concerned about the revolutionary education of our leading cadres through their ideological uplift and revolutionary tempering by continually perfecting the relations between cadres and the laboring masses, by preventing the cadres from alienating themselves from the masses and becoming bourgeois so as to ingratiate them with the masses spiritually and organically.

That is why the revolutionary movement for the direct participation of cadres in production, as one of the most effective methods to avoid the bureaucratization of cadres and to keep them always along the line of revolution, is of major principled and ideological importance because it concerns the application of great Lenin's teaching according to which «only through working together with workers and peasants can one become a real communist».

Therefore, the revolutionary movement for the direct participation of cadres in production, in physical exertion, is one of the most important methods our Party uses to continually revolutionize cadres, to make their bureaucratization impossible, to ingratiate them with the masses, to turn them into attentive learners of the great and unerring teacher — the people —, to keep them always in their function as the loyal servants of the people.

Calluses on the hands of our cadres — of the writers and artists or officers, of the brigade-leaders in agricultural coope-

ratives or of the foremen at workshops, of the directors of enterprise or of the Ministers, of the secretaries of the Party grass-root organizations or of the members of the Party Central Committee — are gold and distinctive medals of the revolution, constitute a strong barricade against bureaucratization, they are the most adamant keys to lock out revisionism and capitalism, make up a favorable and fertile terrain of high yields for the prosperity of socialism and its complete triumph. Revisionism and capitalism, on the contrary, flourish on the «delicate» hands of those people who shirk from mixing with the people, who shirk from direct participation in production and run after personal comfort placing their personal over general interest. Therefore, we should do a lot of educational work with cadres who, when their turn comes to take active part in production, in physical labor, shirk from this revolutionary task which is a prophylactic cure for people against the malady of revisionism and getting bourgeois and a stifling, boycotting and unbearable environment should be created against those who are incorrigible in this respect; the working class itself, which is the class in power, which holds the reins of state in their hand, all the laboring masses should bring all pressure to bear, should exercise their authority, their educational and supervising force against all these bourgeois tendencies.

In its great efforts to mould the new man, our Party instils in people the feeling of love for productive work, making them to consider productive work as a revolutionary anvil, as a necessity, as an honor, as a permanent task. Within the framework of the further revolutionization of our schools, in line with Comrade Enver Hoxha's theses, the Party also intends to combine aright academic with productive work as far back as during the school period, so that productive work as well as military training in defense of our homeland may be inculcated into the spirit and soul of our youth when still at the school benches.

He who shirks direct work in production slights the working class and the cooperative peasantry, slights the Party, the revolution and socialism and, as such, he should be mercilessly fought against to the end. He who shirks direct work in production is, objectively, a sympathizer of the bourgeoisie and, if not re-educated in time, may turn to a servant of the bourgeoisie. It is in this sense that the ideological value of the cadres' direct work in production should be understood.

In his letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose, Comrade Enver says: «Through your work and courage as a communist and the tangible results you have achieved, you do not only honor the Party and the people in the task they have entrusted to you but, by the example you set a work, you confirm, at the same time, the correctness of the directives of the Party regarding agriculture, showing to others by your example that you can superintend but also take a hand at production, that the one who produces is the best superintendent». Our cadres should never forget this great lesson of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, they should insert it into the foundation of their work of leadership in economy, culture, State and Party.

Among us today, direct work in production has become universal, the difference between cadres and the masses, also with respect to remuneration of work done, has been narrowed down. There is no doubt that the great example set by brigade-leader Alo Qose and Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter will give a further powerful push ahead to the correct solution of the contradiction between cadres and the masses, the cadres will merge more and more spiritually and organically with the masses as revolutionary Alo Qose has done who cannot be distinguished at all from the cooperative workers at work, as the «Zëri i Popullit» correspondent says. It is such cadres that our Party wants to temper. Not only the brigade-leader but also the chairman of the cooperative, the agronomist and accountant and the other cadres of the administration of the cooperative should not look different from the other cooperative workers, and they should do this through joining the masses of the cooperative in common productive work. In factories and enterprises, the brigade-leader or the foreman of a sector, the engineer or the manager of the enterprise, whoever may be employed in the administration, should not be told apart from the plain workers but should work together with them. The writer or the employee in the central or local administration, the pedagog or student, the cadres of the Army or cultural institutions should not be told apart from the plain workers when doing direct work in production.

The correct application of the Party policy of circulating cadres is another aspect of our Party's method of revolutionizing cadres. The cadre of the central administration, who goes as a cadre in an enterprise, gets into closer contact with production, with the working class, with the cooperative peasantry and merges more organically with them, taking direct

part in production on a wider scale. On the other hand, the cadres who come from the front of production to the central administration bring with them the spirit of the working class, of the laboring masses. Therefore, in this respect, too, work should be done to carry the policy of the Party in connection with the circulation of cadres through to the end and should fight against any manifestation that hinders the implementation of the Party line in this direction. To dodge direct work in production or the implementation of the policy of circulation in your own case is just the same thing, is the manifestation of the desire to become bourgeois, to turn your back on the working class and your face towards the bourgeoisie. Our Party, the working class and all the laboring masses should fight such manifestations and fight them through to the end.

The great example set by revolutionary Alo Qose should inspire all our cadres, all our intellectuals. Alo Qose is a plain cooperative member. He was elected brigade-leader because he deserved it. But he did not put on airs as a brigade-leader, he did not draw the line between Alo Qose the plain cooperative farmer and Alo Qose the brigade leader. While being a brigade leader, he continued to be also a common worker, not in words but in deeds, continuing to work in production just as the other cooperative workers. He has succeeded in making a correct combination of his foremanship with labor in production and labor in production with his foremanship. That is why also his brigade stands out for the brilliant results it has attained in realizing the State plan tasks in all directions. That is why Comrade Enver Hoxha says that «this is the best way of supervising for it is anti-bureaucratic». It is this great revolutionary experience our Party wants to universalize that Comrade Enver Hoxha calls for.

But are all like Alo Qose? Although the direct participation of cadres in the work of production has spread far and wide in our country, still there are many cadres who try to shirk productive work, trump up a thousand and one excuses for dodging part or the whole of their time assigned to direct participation in production work. There are even those who, with a view to shirking from direct participation in production work, organize or rather «fabricate» many and prolonged meetings which, in many cases, have turned into a new manifestation of bureaucracy.

There are cadres among us who, in order to shirk direct participation in production work, resort to unbecoming speculations by having ungrounded medical reports issued to them. There are cadres who do not yet grasp the ideological significance of their direct participation in production work but consider it as a useless burden which, they allege, «hampers management», «wastes their time» or «prevents them from giving full play to their technical and leading capacities». All of these are manifestations of petty bourgeois egotism, of placing personal above general interests, they are signs of the existence of the malady of bureaucratism, of the existence of the danger of their turning bourgeois.

Speaking about the attitude of certain cadres who do not properly assess this revolutionary initiative to take direct part in production work, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Why does this come about? Because the idea prevails among them that the chairman of an agricultural cooperative, the director of an enterprise, the headmaster of a school or the brigade-leader and other controllers should only direct, control, issue instructions but not work directly in production». These are the real reasons why these people try to shirk direct work in production. This is a dangerous disease which, if not treated in time and radically, will do its work in an inevitable way; this disease might bring about their political «demise» by turning themselves into bureaucrats, by alienating themselves from the masses and turning against them.

In the rules and regulations of agricultural cooperatives it is stipulated that brigade-leaders in agricultural cooperatives should do 150 calendaric days a year of direct work in production, turning out each calendaric day not less than the full daily quota of work and receiving as remuneration, according to the standard regulations of agricultural cooperatives, from 1.2 to 1.5 times the average of the work days of the able-bodied farmhands they supervise. And if the brigade leader fails to accomplish this job in direct production work, then he receives his annual income less the remuneration for the days he has not worked in direct production work.

But not all brigade-leaders fully comply with the above rule. There are still brigade-leaders who have violated this rule and have really taken direct part in production work but not at the above level, at times, even below half of that level. There are many cases when the days a brigade-leader

spends at meetings, at military training drills, etc. are registered as days spent in direct production work. There are many cases when no reduction figures in his income for a brigade-leader who has failed to complete his 150 days of direct participation in production work as stipulated in the rules and regulations and established by the general assembly. And this happens because the masses of the cooperative members have not exercised their control on the brigade-leaders to the extent they should.

In order to take direct part in production work at the proper level, a brigade-leader should organize the work the way brigade-leader Alo Qose has organized it, that is, the brigade should work on collective quotas in all the processes of work where such collective quotas can be applied as in reclaiming virgin land, deep tilling, planting, cultivating, harvesting, and so on, or, as they have organized their work at the Elbasan Woodworking plant, where all the brigades and sectors have organized their work on the basis of collective quotas in about 80% of the processes of work.

If a brigade leader in agriculture fails to establish collective quotas of work in his brigade, he will not have enough time to devote to direct participation in production work at the required rate because he will have to survey the work of each individual member of his brigade every day and at each sector of work instead of simplifying this bureaucratic procedure by replacing individual with collective quotas of work.

The Party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed the importance of working on a collective quota basis and has issued detailed instructions on how to organize the work on the basis of collective quotas. It is not a question of the forms of organizing the work on a collective quota basis not being clear but the question is that there are still a number of people who stick to petty-bourgeois individualism, and here we come up against conservative and petty-bourgeois ideas, against the idea of sticking to personal interests and lack of sufficient confidence in the strength of the collective, in its capability for comradely collaboration in carrying out the task of putting the screws on loafers and foul players.

I know of a cooperative, one of the oldest and richest, where collective quotas of work were allegedly established. This was done in a formal way, just so as to boast that collective quotas of work had been established there. The

brigades there were reorganized, placing the physically strong and weak persons and the women folk in separate brigades allegedly for the purpose of «not doing injustice to one another», allegedly for the purpose of carrying out the socialist principle of «to each according to his work». The establishment of collective quotas of work on such a division of labor is quite wrong, it does not lead to strengthening socialist solidarity among people, to strengthening socialist relations in production, but fosters personal interests; under such conditions, collective quotas of work are established not according to the principle of placing collective above personal interests but vice-versa, that is according to the principle of placing personal above collective interests. And in this old and rich cooperative where the inclination to place personal above collective interests has not been fought against properly, the collective quotas of work were abolished before being established and there they continue to work on individual quotas of work. This is not a good phenomenon. The cadres and cooperative members of this rich and old cooperative had better go and learn at the Sojniku «high school» where brigade-leader Alo Qose is «professor»!

In his letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «Together with the collective, you verified also the advantages ensuing from collective quotas of work».

Of course, working on an individual quota of work basis is not at variance with the socialist nature of organization of labor. But work on an individual quota basis is not the only form of socialist organization of labor. Working on an individual quota basis is the preliminary form of socialist organization of labor. And in spite of the positive aspects of this form, it contains something negative in itself. The future does not belong to individual but to collective quotas of work. Of course, this will not be achieved at once but it will pass gradually from individual to collective quotas of work and then, finally, the time will come when the collective quotas of work, too, will be abolished when the sense of duty of all the people will have been raised to a very high level.

Work on a collective quota basis is a higher and more advanced stage than the work on an individual quota basis. Why? The forms of collective work, that is, of collective quotas of work, promote the collective spirit, strengthen the role of the masses to educate the people in their ranks, fosters the sense of responsibility of the masses about

their leading role in solving the organizational, technical and economic problems in production. Working on collective quotas is one of the most suitable forms to effectively fight against inclinations towards individualism and egotism, against the tendency to view the work from the angle of personal interest. Work on a collective quota basis fosters and strengthens the sense of solidarity among workers, harmonizes in a better way personal with collective interests, creates suitable conditions for all collectives which work on a collective quota basis to be more actively and concretely interested that all its members may proceed at the same revolutionary pace: the backward to be raised to the level of those in the lead and all to march ahead together inspired by the example of the best. Working on a collective quota basis uproots the indifferentism of the members of the collective towards the shortcomings of one another and stimulates the masses as a whole to take an active and most effective part in levelling the contradictions between the loafers and the collective, between those who mind their own comfort and personal interest, on the one hand, and those who mind the interests of the collective, on the other.

When a squad or brigade works on a collective quota basis, the reckoning of workdays may be made on an equal or a differentiated scale among the members of the collective as the collective itself may have decided. No organizational problem hinders this; what is an obstacle to this is the erroneous, individualistic and egotistic ideas which should consistently be fought against.

To organize work on a collective quota basis means to raise the activity of cadres and of the masses for their ideological uplift. And this requires efforts and not easy efforts at that. Writing to Alo Qose, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «...the essence of these work quotas lies in physical exertion but also in the political work to raise the communist sense of duty of the cooperative members».

Work on an individual quota basis contains in itself the administrative and bureaucratic form of surveying the work done by each, it does not require much effort to educate the people, not expecting much from them to give full priority to politics. While working on a collective quota basis requires a high sense of duty, mutual control, perfect organization of work to keep the process of work going.

Our experience so far shows that wherever the collective

norms of work have been established, even when, at the beginning, some slight decline has been observed in the work yield, after a short time, the work yield has risen and has continued to rise at a higher rate than under conditions when people worked on an individual quota basis. Therefore, organizing work on a collective quota basis means also to properly assess the time element, to turn it from «bronze to gold». When collective quotas of work have been established, proletarian discipline at work is strengthened because the people are all mobilized to carry out their collective task, and mutual control is raised to a higher level.

Certain people think that collective quotas of work can be established only in agriculture but not in industry, building construction and elsewhere. This is an erroneous viewpoint. Practical experience has verified that working on a collective quota basis may be organized successfully not only in agriculture but also in the sector of industry, building construction and elsewhere. Of course, this refers to the establishment of collective quotas of work where this is practically possible, for instance, where the work processes are identical or similar and are organically linked with one another. Moreover, there is not only one single form of organizing on a collective quota basis but there are various forms and we should look for and apply the most suitable ones.

Alo Qose set the best example not only in direct participation at production work as a brigade-leader and in organizing the work in his brigade on the basis of collective work quotas but also in raising the work quotas. To raise work quotas means to place common interests on the forefront, it means to strengthen proletarian discipline at work in order to spare time, in order not to waste work time but to use it efficiently and totally.

We are all aware that work hours are not efficiently used. And nevertheless, work quotas in most cases are overreached to a large extent. This goes to show that all possibilities exist to raise the work quotas not only in agriculture but also in industry and in other sectors provided we follow the inspiring example set by brigade-leader Alo Qose to give priority to collective interests and to establish strict and conscientious proletarian discipline at work. Thus, the rise of work output, an essential and decisive factor in building the new socialist society, is bound to come about.

If the question of the direct participation of cadres in

production work is stressed with force for the sector of agriculture, it should be stressed with even greater force for the sectors of industry, building construction and all other sectors. It seems to me that it is much easier for the director of an industrial enterprise to take direct part in production work than the chairman of an agricultural cooperative, because, in a factory, workers' collectives work under a roof, while in agriculture work is done on an extensive territory without a roof overhead; because work in a factory, after all, is not as toilsome as agricultural work in the field, etc.

In order to substantiate as we should the important principle of direct participation of cadres in production work, it is essential to rely strongly on the supervision by the working class and use this workers' control as a powerful weapon in this field as well. The supervision by the working class should be exercised to the full in carrying out the principle of direct participation of cadres in production work, in manual labor and allow no cadre of whatever category and level to dodge the implementation of this principle. If the masses do not take this matter up and have it under their control, then the workers' control or the control by the masses will be limping along, and will be limping along one of its most important directions — in the direction of the fight the working class and cooperative masses should wage to prevent the bureaucratization of cadres. And this fight is one of the most important aspects of the class struggle in our country.

In his letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «... I wish that all the foremen, cooperative members, heads of cooperatives and managers of all State enterprises will follow your example at work and in management». This inspiring call by Comrade Enver Hoxha is the call the Party addresses to all the cadres of every category and standing to follow the great revolutionary example set by the plain man of the mighty people — brigade-leader Alo Qose — and further revolutionize themselves, ingratiate themselves organically with the masses, use the method of direct participation in production work as a method to cleanse the cadres of career-seeking, egotistic, individualistic and bureaucratic concepts, to further improve the method and style at work, to further improve relations between cadres and the masses, to apply the line of the masses in extenso.

Therefore, let the great example set by comrade communist Alo Qose and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Call become

the banner for all cadres and all workers to further deepen our ceaseless revolution, to further revolutionize our marvellous people themselves!

In our press organs we also read these recent days Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter to Mrike and Llesh Syziu and Gjon Llesh Syziu on January 29. This letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha's constitutes in itself a continuation of his letter to brigade-leader Alo Qose. The purpose in view is identical: to universalize the best revolutionary example. While doing his term of military service, Gjon Llesh Syziu met with an accident and lost both legs. Nevertheless, after being treated and enabled to walk on crutches, he did not quit the great front of struggle to build socialism but expressed his desire to work and learn even in his badly crippled condition.

In this letter, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «Dear Gjon, you write to me that you intend to work and continue your studies at the same ime. I congratulate you for having taken this correct and revolutionary decision and will instruct the comrades of the Party to see to it that this legitimate desire of yours is fulfilled.

In our country, in spite of their limited physical abilities, the invalids as well as the pensioners, like active members of our socialist society, find strength enough in themselves to render also their contribution to the good of our country and people. Like you, Nuredin Hoxha in Elbasan, who has also had both legs amputated, works in a praiseworthy manner as a skilful and efficient mechanician setting a high inspiring example of the socialist approach to labor.»

Just as Alo Qose, who is a silent hero, silent heroes, even under more critical conditions, are also Gjon Llesh Syziu and Nuredin Hoxha, is also Fuat Çela, are also many others not yet discovered, such heroes have also been Adem Reka, Muhamet Shehu and Myrteza Kepi, Shkurte Pal Vata and Ismet Sali Bruçaj, and many others like them. These are the type of the new revolutionary men whom our Party has tempered and continues to temper. They are banners for our people and, under their example, we will hack mountains and breast storms, there being no fortress which we will not conquer holding these red banners in our hands.

When anyone comes up against obstacles which he or she thinks are insuperable and falters and drops to his or her knees before them or is blindfolded by the sentiment of running after his or her personal interests, let him or her

recall these silent heroes and he or she will blush with shame before the examples they have set, will take up heart and forge ahead towards revolution just as our silent heroes have forged and are forging ahead being plain individuals of our people but great ones for our revolution and teaching us with their great revolutionary example how to think as revolutionaries, how to work as revolutionaries and how to live and fight like revolutionaries

These heroes of our days embody the salient characteristics of our country at the present time. It is to these that our writers and artists should turn, it is here that they should look for the real typification of our actual life and sum it up with their pen and brush. The «muse» the writer is after refuses to stay in the office, it has long fled from the office, ever since the banner of Marxism-Leninism has been hoisted in Albania, it has betaken itself down to production work, to the factory, to the worksite, to the grain field, to the post at the frontier, to the army detachment, to wherever people work, learn, strive and create, and there it continues and records with unbounded love and devotion the deeds of the silent heroes and heroines and is prepared at all times to give all its inspiration to the writer if the writer accepts its invitation and call to visit it down there at the forefront of battle where socialist society is under complete construction.

Comrades, I wish you full success in your work of carrying the all-round revolutionization of the country through to the end in accordance with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Let us all set to work to accomplish with success all our tasks and await the grand jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country and of triumph of our people's revolution with all our plan targets reached and over-reached, with a more solid unity, with a higher revolutionary sense of duty, with the Party banner unfurled more majestically over the land of the People's Republic of Albania!

ON THE FULFILMENT OF THE 1968 STATE PLAN AND BUDGET AND THE TASKS OF THE PROPOSED 1969 STATE PLAN AND BUDGET

*Report submitted at the 7th Session of the 6th
Legislature of the People's Assembly by Deputy
Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the
CC of PLA and Deputy-Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the PRA.*

Comrade Deputies,

In line with the directives issued by the 7th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers submits to the People's Assembly the results achieved in fulfilling the 1968 State plan and budget and the proposed tasks for the 1969 State plan and budget. Your study and approval of them at this session is of particular importance since 1969, the jubilean year of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Fatherland, is the last but one year of the 4th five-year planned period and the successful implementation of this year's major tasks is of decisive importance to the fulfilment of the whole 4th five-plan ahead of schedule.

Drawing a balance sheet of the successes already attained, the Council of Ministers report with satisfaction to the People's Assembly that last year was another year of great all-round successes, a year marking the rapid development of our productive forces and a further rise of the material well-being and cultural uplift of our people. It was characterized by a further intensification of our people's revolution and by an even broader participation of the laboring masses in this revolution, by a better understanding of the necessity for deep revolutionary transformations in our country's life as well as by a further application of the mass line closely connected with the strengthening of worker control, especially, following Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech on this topic.

Many initiatives of the working class to increase and improve the structure of production and to extend the advanced experience for the technical progress, in compliance with the decisions passed by the 3d Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party and with Comrade Enver's speech on technical and scientific revolution, have been translated into life during the year 1968. The year 1968 was the first year of the successful application of the important decision of the 4th Plenary Session of the Central Committee on the electrification of the countryside by 1971, and the already attained achievements bear witness to the vitality of the line of the masses to solve problems and to overcome difficulties.

Last year, a number of new economic, social and cultural projects were completed and put into operation. Two of these were the new Rrogozhina-Fier railroad and the Uplands Highway, built by our heroic youth, who, through their self-abnegation at work, completed these projects ahead of schedule.

The important decisions taken by the Party Central Committee, the programmatic speeches by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the exposure of the Khrushchevite fascist revisionist clique for its aggression against Czechoslovakia and the bold and revolutionary act of our Party and Government in denouncing the ill-famed Warsaw Treaty have raised to newer heights our people's patriotism, vigilance and military preparedness to defend their country, to safeguard their achievements and the inviolability of the frontiers of our socialist Fatherland at any sacrifice.

All this mighty revolutionary upsurge which ran through our country last year gave a push to the heroism and selflessness at work of our laboring masses. In response to the revolutionary call **«one falls, a thousand spring up»**, new heroes were added to the list of hundreds and thousands of heroes of our days some of whom laid down their very lives for the cause of the Party and people. Such was the Red Comisar, the hero-teacher of our days, young Ismet Sali Bruçaj whose heroic act became another inextinguishable torch for the young generation, for the teachers and for all our people.

All this great vulcano of inexhaustible forces and energies, this mighty political unity, are an expression of our Party's farsighted leadership and of its just struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

I. ON THE FULFILMENT OF THE 1968 STATE PLAN AND BUDGET

Judging by the results obtained in 1968, the Council of Ministers notices that our country's laboring masses have worked harder than at any other year for the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan and budget and have attained very good results. These results were a successful crowning of the workers efforts in many branches of our economy to fulfil and overfulfil the tasks of the three years 1966-1968 of the five-year plan, as well. It is a positive fact that, in addition to last year's planned targets, those of industrial production and food grains for the first three years (1966-1968) taken together were also fulfilled and over-fulfilled, a thing which marks a very important success.

In line with our Party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's directives on the implementation of the People's Assembly's decisions on the development of economy and culture for the year 1968, the Council of Ministers and all State and economic organs, have given full support to the extensive participation of the working masses, to their numerous initiatives; and to the further improvement of the method and style of work by a better application of the line of the masses.

The process of our country's socialist industrialization was further deepened last year, in line with the directives of the 5th Congress of our Party. The total industrial production of the year 1968 was overfulfilled, and the distinguishing characteristic is that this plan was fulfilled and overfulfilled in almost all the main branches of industry, in some of which, like the copper, iron-nickel, electric power, machine-making, building and construction materials, wood processing and paper industries production reached the target set for 1970.

Very good results were achieved by our geological workers who, with their persistence in coping with difficulties, overfulfilled all the targets for useful mineral reserves foreseen in the plan by discovering new mineral beds; our heroic miners gave thousands of tons of iron-nickel, copper, chromium, coal, and other minerals above plan, for our economy, whereas our oil-workers, overcoming many drawbacks and obstacles, produced 37,000 tons of naphtha above plan.

The machine-making industry made further progress. It fulfilled its plan 103 percent, thus becoming a strong support for the further development of the other branches of economy

by turning out spare parts, by carrying through partial and capital revision of machinery, as well as by producing many new equipments and machines, especially new production lines, work-shops, factories and plants, all these being the fruits of the creative thinking of our wonderful innovators and rationalizers.

Workers of the chemical, metallurgic, building and construction materials industries performed their tasks better last year, improving also the quality of the products turned out.

The light and handicraft industries overfulfilled the tasks of the plan, adding new articles to their various assortments, while the food-processing industry incurred a deficit in the oil and canning industries partly also because agriculture failed to supply it with sufficient amounts of home produced raw materials.

Notwithstanding the results achieved in industrial production, it was possible to do more, for the reserves of this sector are great. The industrial workers and the Ministry of Industry and Mining themselves should have exerted more persistent efforts, especially, against the tendency to fulfil the plan only as a whole, in volume, to the detriment of quality and variety, and it was in this that most of last year's defects occurred which should not be allowed to be repeated again.

As a result of the hard work done by the workers of the agricultural establishments and of the cooperative peasantry, as a result of the unfolding of their numerous initiatives and of the extension to a broader scale of scientific experimentation in agriculture, there were achieved very good results last year in the production of food grains, their plan being fulfilled about 105 percent, which is an increase of about 65 percent above that of 1965, this being the highest yield we have had up to now. This marks an important turning point that should be pursued with greater courage and mobilization at work. The workers of Durrës, Mat, Kruja, Lushnja, Tirana, Dibra and other regions distinguished themselves in this respect.

Conspicuous progress has been made in the development of cattle breeding, especially of cows, as was shown in the proceedings of the national conference on the problem of cattle breeding. As a result of the all-important decision adopted by the Party Central Committee, cattle-breeding is taking a favorable turn and will no doubt continue to improve;

The successes in agriculture would have been more ma-

nysided if attention were paid **on a wide front** to all the branches of this complex sector, and if some crops, like tobacco and cotton, were not undervalued. Their non-fulfilment opened a noticeable gap in the all-round agricultural production and in the balance sheet of foreign trade. The farm workers, the State power organs in the regions and the Ministry of Agriculture will no doubt draw the necessary lessons for the current year.

The communication workers fulfilled their tasks according to the plan in all kinds of motor vehicle, rail and sea transport, but results would have been still better if more persistent work had been done to implement transport contracts, especially for timber, which created numerous difficulties, but which, of certain will not be allowed to occur again.

The volume of construction was fulfilled 100 per cent with an increase of more than 7 percent above 1967. The main attention of the builders was concentrated on building industrial projects and, as a consequence, during the last year they completed and put into operation a series of important projects for our people's economy, such as the Cement Factory in Elbasan, the Oil Refinery in Fier, the third stage of the «Mao Tse-tung» Textile Mills in Berat, the «Dajti» Machineshop in Tirana, and many others. Special attention has been attached to the construction of several drainage and irrigation schemes; 170 such projects were completed and put into operation mostly in the mountainous and hilly areas, increasing the irrigation capacity. More than 5,500 apartments have been built, of which 2,500 by voluntary work.

In line with the Party's and Government's supreme concern, important measures were taken in 1968 to raise the material well-being and cultural uplift of our people. As a consequence of the growth of industrial and agricultural production, the purchasing power of the population rose and the supply of consumer's goods increased. In general, the socialist trade workers fulfilled their main tasks well. They fulfilled the goods turn-over plan 102 percent, almost reaching the 1969 level of goods turn-over of the five-year plan for **the town**, and that of the year 1970 for **the countryside**. In a year and a half alone, the trade network in the countryside increased as much as it had increased during the previous 10 years taken together. As a result of all these measures, in comparison with 1967, the urban and rural laboring masses were supplied in 1968 with 9 percent more fats, 17 percent

more sugar, 15 percent more rice, 22 percent more macaroni, 10 percent more meat, 38 percent more eggs, 79 percent more potatoes, 22 percent more cotton fabrics, 51 percent more wolen fabrics, 29 percent more shoes of various kinds, 7 percent more hosiery as well with more other consumer's goods. Good results were attained last year in the field of the further development of education and culture. The plan of pupil and student enrolment was fulfilled 103 percent as a result of the new primary and 8th grade schools which were opened above plan by the people themselves even in the remotest mountain regions of our country. More than 2,900 cadres of middle school training, 665 cadres of 2-year Teacher Training institutes and 1,040 high and specialized cadres graduated from our schools in 1968. It was for the first time last year that the working masses took part in extensive public discussions, as Comrade Enver Hoxha had instructed them, on the further revolutionization of our schools. It is clear that these discussions have already borne their first fruits, especially in doing away with some concepts on the system and contents of our schools and education. No doubt, these continuous mass public discussions will serve the revolutionary transformation of the teaching and pedagogical process establishing closer links between the school and the revolutionary practice of the working masses in our country.

The good results achieved in the fulfilment of the State plan have directly affected the successful fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the State budget for the year 1968. The State budget incomes were fulfilled 100.3 percent. Incomes from taxation on circulation and surplus profit, making up the main portion of the State monetary accumulations, were about 56 million leks above plan. The State budget expenditures, although 97.7 percent of plan, were able to meet the needs of the further development of our economy, of the social and cultural measures and of the defence power in a satisfactory way. As a result of the all-round mobilization of the working masses, of their creative initiatives, of their greater efforts to develop and exploit the latent resources more completely in 1968 it became possible to fulfil the task of preventing waste and lowering costs 140 percent, and the circulation expenses 100 percent.

The great victories scored in the fulfilment of the tasks of the State plan and budget for the year 1968 as well as for the three years of the 4th Five-year Plan, are a clear

demonstration of the revolutionary drive and of the exemplary efforts of the working class, of the cooperative peasantry and the peoples intelligentsia, at whose forefront stands, as always, the working class led by our glorious Party. They are also a sound guarantee for the future, for the further economic and cultural development in our country. But there is no doubt that these victories would have been even greater if, in our work, the Council of Ministers included, in the work of all State and economic organs at the center and at the grass-roots, there had not occurred a series of shortcomings and weaknesses in the process of struggle to overcome the difficulties that the unfolding of our socialist revolution gives birth to.

In spite of good results, more could have been done to further deepen the line of the masses, to get a better grasp of the ideological substance of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on working class control, to place the general interests of the State above the particular interests of sectors and enterprises, to fight against the departmental spirit and other bureaucratic manifestations, to improve on the socialist organization of work, to exploit work time in a more rational way.

The Council of Ministers will take all necessary measures to wipe out all these imperfections but, at the same time, they think that the rich experience of our country's laboring masses under the leadership of the Party, is a decisive factor which should be extended, generalized and further developed as a powerful means to mend all shortcomings, to overcome the difficulties lying in our way. Therefore, it is up to all the State and economic organs to further improve their method and style at work, always carrying out the class struggle everywhere, at all times and on all fronts of production, education and culture, always applying the line of the masses and summing up their advanced experience. This is a decisive condition to successfully accomplish even such great and important tasks as those set by the 1969 State plan and budget which is being submitted to the People's Assembly for con-

Comrade Deputies,

The proposed State plan and budget for 1969 which is being submitted at this session of the People's Assembly for consideration and approval is the result of the great all-

round work of the urban and rural masses, of the State and economic organs at the center and at the grass-roots. It is based on the main tasks set in the 4th five-year plan for the year 1969, on the workers' creative genius and their determination to always march ahead and, above all, on the correct line of the Party, on the unbreakable unity of the people around the Party.

Submitting to the People's Assembly the draft plan and budget for the year 1969, the principal indices of which have been distributed to you, the Council of Ministers is convinced that both the general plan and the budget of this year contain realistic mobilizing and revolutionary tasks ensuring the most effective exploitation of the material and financial means and preparing the ground for a better implementation of the tasks in the future.

II. ON THE PROPOSED STATE PLAN AND BUDGET FOR 1969

The proposed State plan and budget for the year 1969 mark a great leap forward not only in fulfilling and overfulfilling the 4th five-year plan but also in working out and applying concretely many revolutionary directives issued by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Analyzing the contents of the 1969 State plan and budget, we find some distinctive features of which the principal are:

Firstly, the distinctive feature of our State plan and budget for the current year is a very high rate of development in our people's economy and culture. The total social production of the country in 1969 is foreseen to rise about 16 percent above that realized in 1968 as against 8 percent on the average per annum that is foreseen to rise in the 4th five-year plan. In particular the total industrial production will rise 12.4 percent and the total agricultural production — 22.1 percent. The high rates characterizing the growth of social production and, especially, the high unprecedented rate of the agricultural production growth for the year 1969 point out that our people's economy keeps pace with the important leap that started during this five-year period. This year, it becomes possible to reach and overfulfil the level of the general production the 4th five-year plan has set for 1970. This is an all-important success emerging from our Party's

correct line, from the successful implementation of the tasks of the 5th Congress and from all the other revolutionizing measures adopted by our Party and Government.

Secondly, the proposed State plan and budget for the year 1969 foresee big investments and constructions, 31.5 percent and 22 percent respectively above those of 1968. Thus, in the year 1969 we will witness the highest increase ever met with these recent years in the field of investments and constructions, considering that the greatest increase during the 1966-67 period has not exceeded 12 percent. Such increase of investments and constructions is altogether possible and serves as a powerful incentive to speeding up the rate of development of the productive forces both in town and in the countryside, to improving the working and living conditions of our country's laboring masses and, at the same time, to preparing the necessary and indispensable ground to carry out the numerous and great constructions we shall be faced with in the years to come.

Thirdly, the proposed State plan and budget for the year 1969 foresee a harmonious distribution and use of the national income with a further increase of the accumulation fund accompanied by a perceptible increase of the consumption fund as the main distinguishing line. The increase of accumulation is related to the fact that the directives of the Central Committee of the Party to increase production, to deepen the technological and scientific revolution, to complete the electrification of the countryside, to step up the building of dwelling houses and various social and cultural institutions, to develop education, to strengthen defence, and so on, require new material and financial resources which will be met with by the increase of the accumulation fund. But, at the same time, all measures have been taken not to lower the increase of **consumption quotas**, on the contrary, to accompany them by a noticeable rise of the living standards of the working masses in town and in the countryside. In 1969, as against 1965, the real income of the workers and employees will rise from 14 to 16 percent and the real income of peasants from 24 to 26 percent. These tasks of great importance will make it possible to reach and over-reach the targets set by the 5th Party Congress in this field.

Fourthly, the proposed plan and budget for the year 1969 serve as a powerful incentive to carry further and more vigorously ahead our revolution in the ideological field of edu-

cation and culture. With the accomplishment of the tasks set in the proposed plan and budget for this year, further and greater steps will be taken to improve the style and method at work, to deepen and implement the line of the masses, to enforce the working class control, to further deepen revolution in the field of education and to sum up the experience of the working masses' creative thinking in this field, to further develop the initiative and the creative thinking of the working masses in the field of production and, in this connection, to map out further concrete measures to deepen the scientific and technical revolution in all sectors. Thus, another step will be taken to further transform the economic basis and superstructure and a powerful push will be given to the development of the country in all directions.

1. The principal tasks for the development of the branches of people's economy and culture during the year 1969.

On the basis of the proposed plan and budget for the year 1969, numerous and great tasks are foreseen for the development of all the branches of our economy and culture. This development is made by further improving the structure of the branches of our people's economy in conformity with the general needs and possibilities of the country on the basis of a better cooperation, better harmonization, of the development of the production of the means of production alongside with that of the consumers' goods, combining productive with the non-productive activities and meeting the needs for a further strengthening of the defensive capacity of our People's Republic.

In line with the directive issued by our 5th Party Congress and taking into account the new possibilities that have been and are being created in the process of the revolutionary development of the productive forces, **during the year 1969 our country will further march by leaps and bounds towards industrialization.** On the basis of a better exploitation of the existing productive capabilities, of other inner resources and reserves and relying on the plants, factories, workshops and lines that have recently been and are being put into operation, it is foreseen that the general industrial production will not only reach the targets set in the five-year plan for 1970 but will exceed them by more than 500 million leks.

In comparison with 1968, industrial production in 1969 will grow in all the branches of industry without exception and, in particular, in the oil industry — 21.5 percent, in that of chromium — 13.8 percent, copper — 13 percent, iron-nickel — 19 percent, chemical — 12.8 percent, machine-making — 22.9 percent, building and construction materials — 16.7 percent, in the light industry — 11.2 percent, the food-processing industry — 7.6 percent, and so on, ensuring, on this basis, noticeable overfulfilments of plan in the production of industrial goods which will go a long way to meeting the needs of our economy and our people.

Our socialist agriculture enters the year 1969 with further and greater tasks lying ahead for it and it is expected that it will make further important steps ahead to contribute to the development of our people's economy as a whole. In comparison with 1968, the production of field crops will increase 22.1%, that of animal husbandry — about 20.8% while that of horticulture will increase 33.4%. The targets set for the increase of agricultural production, in general, and for its separate branches, in particular, are the highest that have ever been reached so far. The development of agriculture will make it possible to better meet the needs of the people, of industry and of exports.

The successful fulfilment of these tasks is based on the great advantages derived from large-scale socialist agriculture, on the allround experience that has been accumulated, especially, these recent years, in the organization and management of production, on the massive scientific experiments as well as on the measures taken to further intensify agriculture, all of which are due to the constant concern of our Party and Government to ensure a powerful material and technical basis for agriculture in the form of machinery, fertilizers, selected seeds etc.

In the development of our people's economy as a whole, the sector of communications will go a long way to meeting the growing needs stemming from the rapid development of the productive forces of all the branches of our economy. To this end, it is envisaged that the volume of goods and passenger transport by motor vehicles, by rail and by sea will rise from 6 to 13%.

Our communication workers will be able to implement their important tasks by adopting more rigid measures for a more complete exploitation of their means and time

of work and by establishing a stricter discipline in the rhythmic fulfilment of their plans. Measures for a further increase of the various kinds of transport means have also been foreseen in this draft plan.

The 1969 proposed State plan and budget foresee particularly intensive tasks in the field of investments and constructions. During the current year, as against the year 1968, investments are foreseen to increase: for the industrial sector — 29 percent, for the agricultural sector — 15 percent and for the social and cultural sectors about 3.5 times.

The large funds earmarked for investments and constructions will serve to continue the construction of the big projects approved by the 5th Party Congress and a series of other new projects that have become necessary in carrying out the tasks of the 4th five-year plan, such as the «Mao Tse-tung» Hydro-electric Power plant at Vau Dejës, the factory for the production of electric bulbs, the factory for the production of oil paints, the factory for the production of cardboard, the glass factory, new mines, high tension lines, the further drainage of Hoxhara, Myzeqe of Vlora and Kakariq swamps, operations for the complete drainage of the Tërbuf swamp, building new hospitals and schools and such other projects. During the year 1969 work will continue for the construction of 168 more agricultural, industrial, social and cultural projects of greater than average importance than in 1968.

On the basis of an uninterrupted development of socialist reproduction and carrying out the directives of the Party for a correct distribution of the national income, harmonizing still better the interests of today with those of the future, it is foreseen to bring about a perceptible increase of the material well-being and cultural uplift of the urban and rural masses in 1969. In compliance with the tasks set forth in the draft-plan for the increase of the real income, the goods' circulation of the retail trade will increase 10.9 percent above that of year 1968. During this year the participation of the population at work will extend on the basis of the further increase of the number of workers, and the number of pupils and students will reach the figure of 550 thousand. Important measures are foreseen to be adopted for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers and, especially, in the field of building new dwelling houses, hospitals, schools, creches and kindergartens, as well as a series of other measures to provide better service for the people, to facilitate

the work of women at the working centers and in the family.

The further implementation of the program, worked out by our Party at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee on the electrification of all the rural areas, occupies an important place in the framework of all the measures to be adopted in 1969 in developing our country and raising the wellbeing of our people. The number of the villages to be electrified will be much greater than last year, reaching to two villages a day in 1969. All the measures have been taken to ensure the necessary material and technical basis for this purpose, but it is up to the State and economic organs at the center and at the grass-roots to work out in detail concrete measures ensuring the successful application ahead of schedule of the magnificent tasks laid down by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the electrification of the countryside, relying on the revolutionary drive of our laboring peasantry, on the powerful proletarian solidarity of our working class with the cooperative peasantry.

The draft budget of this year was drawn up in compliance with the great tasks set forth by the 1969 draftplan. According to the draft budget submitted for consideration and approval, the income will be 4.750 millions leks, or 17.5 percent more than in 1968 and expenditures 4.000 million leks, or 18 percent more than last year. Thus the draft budget represents an important surplus of 150 million leks of incomes over expenditures.

The correct political course mapped out by the 5th Party Congress finds expression also in the 1969 proposed State budget in the field of finances. Incomes from the socialist sector of economy will be increased and those from the population will be reduced. And it could not be otherwise, if the correct line and the lofty aim of our Party, namely, to keep improving the standards of living of the working masses, are to be put into effect.

The budgetary incomes, drawn mainly from the socialist sector of economy, are steady and composed mainly of taxation on circulation and surplus profits. In settling on the income it has been seen to it that the weight of the taxation on circulation is increased in the framework of the general income of the State budget. Besides, measures have been taken to discontinue unprofitable enterprises and activities, with a view to increasing the latent resources and to lowering costs.

The proposed State budget foresees, first of all, the growth of expenditures for the further development of social and cultural sectors and, in general, for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers. As always, most of expenditures of the State budget for the year 1969 will go to financing our people's economy; 23.6 percent of budget expenditures are earmarked for the development of education, culture, health, and so on. The necessary expenditures for the defense of our country and the victories for our people's revolution, for the maintainance of our armed forces, have also been foreseen.

The draft budget for this year reflects our Party's general line and its productive character. This is a feature stemming from the nature of our socialist order itself. It differs radically from the budgets of the capitalist and revisionist states, where the ruling classes in power use the budget as a means of redistributing the national income to their own advantage, to the detriment of the urban and rural working masses, creating supplementary sources for preparing for and launching wars, for the subjugation and oppression of the peoples.

2. On Some Important Issues On Which to Concentrate Our Attention for the Successful Implementation of the 1969 State Plane and Budget

The successful fulfilment of the 1969 State plan and budget will be decisive for the present five-year plan as a whole, **therefore the rhythmical fulfilment of the plan in all headings and indices in good quality and at lowest cost possible** remain the chief concern of all the State and economic organs at the center and at the grass-roots. But in view of the great tasks set forth by the proposed 1969 plan and budget, the Council of Ministers will concentrate its attention mainly on these actual questions of importance:

a) The increase of work output — an all-important factor for the increase of production.

In spite of the great role the increase of work output plays in socialism, it has been recently observed that many State and economic organs have undervalued this indicator. Starting from an incorrect understanding of the output as an accounting indicator, the most effective measures to be

adopted to ensure a continuous increase of the output in every branch and enterprise of our people's economy — a distinguishing characteristic of the increase of the social production in the socialist system — are not being correctly appraised. As a result, in 1968 work output targets in some economic sectors, branches and enterprises were not reached, workers were employed above plan and the fund of wages was overspent, thus overburdening the State budget.

The tendency to demand labor power in excess, which lowers output, was observed in many 1969 draft plans submitted by various enterprises, executive committees and departments. These imperfections were criticized and corrected by the Council of Ministers.

The great proportions being assumed by the economy in our country, especially with its industrialization, require a greater and many-sided work to politically and ideologically understand the indispensability of adopting special measures to increase work output in our people's economy as a whole. The measures we can and should concentrate on to this end are numerous, but, guided by the teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha our attention will be concentrated, first of all, on the problem of further mechanizing work processes and of making full use of worktime, considering this as a very precious factor in further increasing work output.

Through their marvelous creative genius the rationalizers, innovators and the other production workers, have, thus far, contributed a lot by mechanizing numerous processes and by applying, many other efficient ways of making a fuller use of work time on all production fronts. But the Council of Ministers thinks that there still exist great possibilities and resources, there still exist a lot of shortcomings explaining why in many branches of production and workshops the work output is still low.

The full use of work time in all processes of production, services, construction and many other activities, and the establishment of proletarian discipline everywhere would bring about an increase in production of commodities, in saving labor, giving a conspicuous rise to work output.

The possibilities to further mechanize processes of work, especially, in industry, communications, constructions, agriculture, and so on, are also numerous. This problem has now become imperative and can no longer rest on plans and programs on paper alone, but it requires concrete measures, first

of all, at the grass-roots, at enterprises, work-shops, sectors, at any work process. In 1969, the Council of Ministers will take steps aiming at activizing all State and economic organs for a great concrete drive in this direction. The intensification of measures to mechanize work processes, not by waiting for imported machinery alone, but, first of all, relying on the inner sources and possibilities, should be transformed into a mass action in all center of production, of services or construction applying the workers' creative thinking and developing the technological and scientific revolution on a broad scale. This, at the same time, requires that the Ministries, the district State power organs and all the enterprises, firmly supporting the movement to set up new lines and work-shops, should make better use of their prerogative to employ and use labor power, to strengthen discipline and control from above, in coordination with working class control, which should exercise its great influence on the increase of the work out-put as well.

b) To Carry Further Ahead And On A Wide Front The Successes Achieved In Total Agricultural Production

With our people's economy uninterruptedly developing, as the 5th Party Congress has justly underlined, we should continue to concentrate our attention on the successful fulfilment of the tasks in the field of agriculture also in 1969, when these tasks are still greater. These problems should be faced squarely and not in a one-sided way, as it happened in 1968 when the cotton and tobacco yield created a considerable deficit.

Greater attention should be attached to raising the productivity of livestock especially by increasing their number, improving their breed, providing feeds keeping pace with the new efforts that are being made for the intensive development of livestock, in general, and of cattle, in particular.

Without slackening our concern about the lowland cooperatives, in 1969 we should intensify our efforts to improve and develop the economic, social and cultural state of the cooperatives in the mountainous areas, in line with the directives of the 5th Congress and of the Central Committee of our Party.

Taking their cue from the experience of the Tirana region mountain cooperatives, all regional state power organs will embark on a concrete study of measures to increase the daily incomes of workers in mountain cooperatives. This will be

done not only by increasing food grains and certain other profitable agricultural crops, by developing livestock, by intensifying horticulture and so on, but also by developing many other auxiliary activities, such as the production of bricks, of lime, fire-wood, charcoal, and so on, for their own needs and for sale to the lowland cooperatives or to the State, so that they may, thus, increase their incomes and improve their standards of living.

c) To See To It That More And More Workers Take Part In The Campaign To Prevent Waste

The revolutionary drive of the working masses of our country and, first of all, of our heroic working class, made it possible in 1968 to achieve good results in improving the quality and, especially, in reducing the production and circulation costs. The fulfilment of the tasks of the 1969 plan and budget requires the adoption of further measures to prevent waste, by making it the concern of the masses. Experience has shown that when the masses become aware of and are thoroughly acquainted with the tasks of the plan and budget, they can find new powers and ways to improve their work in utilizing latent resources and better organizing production. While working out the State plan and budget indices, enterprises and institutions should pay special attention to include in their individual plans further concrete measures to lower costs of production and of services, to simplify their construction projects, to reduce the administrative and non-productive expenses and so on. It is only in this way that prevention of waste can become the concern of all, that it can become everybody's second nature at work, wherever he or she has been assigned to perform the Party's and State's great tasks.

The State and economic organs will rely, as always, on the broad working masses, on their revolutionary thinking, wisdom and drive not only in preventing waste but also in all the tasks of the year 1969. They will firmly support the direct working class control everywhere and on everybody, so that the revolutionary spirit of our heroic working class may run through all the activity of our country's life, so that a consistent fight may be waged against any manifestations of bureaucracy, conservatism, and all alien manifestations incompatible with the revolutionary atmosphere characterizing the development of our country.

III. ON THE PROSPECTS OF THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN OUR COUNTRY

Comrade Deputies!

In its economic policy our Party has always correctly combined the tasks of economic and cultural development of the present with those of the future.

Thus, the plan of the year 1969 is not only a big step forward to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks of this five-year plan but it will also be the starting point of a magnificent program mapped out by our Party's Central Committee and the Council of Ministers for the further and vigorous development of the productive forces in the future. The Council of Ministers finds it necessary to report to the People's Assembly on the great prospects opened to the development of our country on the basis of the recent economic agreements signed with the Government of the People's Republic of China.

On the basis of these agreements, our country will receive from the People's Republic of China a new great interest-free credit within the 1969-1975 period. This new aid given by the People's Republic of China to Albania to speed up the rhythms of the complete construction of socialism, is distinguished both by its profoundly international character and its vast proportions. On the basis of this credit, starting from the year 1969, there will be built in our country 30 important projects with the aid of the People's Republic of China. A considerable part of this aid will be used to further mechanize our agriculture, to set up mines and geological projects and to strengthen our merchant marine as well.

Thus, bright prospects open for a more complete, more complex and deeper exploitation of the riches of our country; the productive forces will develop more rapidly and the economic structure of our country will be considerably improved through further developing the existing and setting up new and powerful branches of economy.

Taking into account the great advantage of processing minerals at home and relying on the abundant industrial and geological reserves of various minerals such as iron-nickel, coal, phosphorites, asbestos, and others, as well as on the Party and Government's important objective to make our country rely on its own forces in its economic development by rationally utilizing its riches, achieving an active balance of foreign

trade in as short a time as possible, and setting up mainly projects of the heavy industry mineral-processing industry.

The first to develop will be the iron-nickel and copper metallurgy, the industry of mineral extraction and agglomeration. Minerals that will be processed in the country will be turned into valuable raw materials for our industry and our exports.

The biggest project of this program will be the iron-nickel metallurgical mill, which will process about 800 thousand tons of iron-nickel ore, turning out 250 thousand tons of steel, for our industry, metal sheets of various sizes, pipes for water conduits, oil shafts, gas pipes, iron-nickel and cast iron for our foundries.

The smelting of our iron-nickel ore in the country and the production of steel will bring about a great change in the further economic development of our country. By putting this metallurgical mill into operation, which is the biggest project of international standards built so far in our country, the needs of our machine-making industry for ferro-concrete and various sorts of steel will be best fulfilled, the economy of our country will be unburdened of today's imports of these articles, and a good portion of the production will go for export, thus considerably raising the State income in foreign exchange.

Important measures will be taken to develop the other branches of our mineral industry and, especially, that of non-ferrous metallurgy. Relying on our present copper ore resources, the projected capacity of the copper treating factory under construction at Reps in Mirditë will be doubled and additional modern copper ore treating, smelting and refining factories will turn out refined copper, sulphuric acid and copper sulphate. The vast reserves of chromium ore discovered these recent years in battle with hardships and the sabotage of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who tried to conceal them from us, are the fruit of the selfless work of our geological workers prospecting for this mineral. The projected capacity of the factory for enriching poor chromium minerals under construction at Bulqizë will be doubled. It will turn out chromium concentrates with more than 50 percent chromium for export. A big coal enriching factory is to be built in the Tirana region, where big reserves of coal, were discovered. Our subsoil is rich in phosphorites discovered by our selfless geological workers. The modern revisionists tried to undervalue these minerals by claiming that it would be im-

possible to enrich them. But owing to the persistent work of our cadres and workers and to the help of the People's Republic of China, these minerals of great value will be enriched and turned into raw materials for producing phosphate fertilizer, thus making our country independent of imported superphosphates. The agreement stipulates the construction of the necessary mines and factories to enrich phosphorites. On the basis of the recently discovered asbestos mineral, there will be built a factory for its enrichment, producing in the country all the necessary raw materials for doubling the production of asbestos cement.

Our Party and Government have shown and show particular concern for the further development of the chemical industry, first of all, on the basis of naphtha and gas processing. According to the agreements, it is foreseen to build a naphtha deep processing plant and a polychlorvinyl a widely used plastic material plant.

The naphtha processing plant will be another big projects; it will process one million tons of naphtha more than all existing oil refineries. It will be equipped with modern and complex machinery which will make a more thorough and rational exploitation of our naphtha possible, producing both greater quantities of fuels and improving their quality. It will turn out bensene, gasoil, kerosene, all of them catching up with international standards both for internal needs and export, as well as coke, sulphur, dry gas, hydrogen to be used in industry and liquified gas to partly replace fire-wood.

Of special importance for our economy is also the polychlorvinyl plant which will turn out also caustic soda, liquified chlorine, chloric acid and carbit which is much needed for our economy.

A plaster processing factory will be built to meet the needs of both our heavy and consumer's goods industries. It will turn out plates, sheets and pipes of plaster as well as such consumers' goods as utensils, furniture and so on.

Moreover another important step is foreseen to be taken towards increasing the production of nitrate fertilizers through building up a new plant and increasing the production capacity of the existing Laç phosphorous fertilizers' plant. In this way, in a few years' time, it will be possible to double the present output of chemical fertilizers as a means for further intensifying our agriculture.

Of great importance, too, are the measures to be adopted

for the development of the other branches of industry, such as the construction of new paper and fiber plants and the trebling of the production capacity of the Fushë-Krujë cement factory. The Tractor Spare Parts Plant will double its present production capacity, so as to better meet the demands of our country for tractor spare parts today and for a certain period in the future. In order to back up the political line of our Party by means of press and propaganda materials and further develop people's education and culture, by means of books, manuals and other materials, there will be set up a big typographical mill at Tirana, with a production capacity twice the existing printing establishments.

These projects, especially the Ferro-nickel Electric Metallurgy Plant, will rely on the rapid development of electric power industry which will be always in position to meet the evergrowing demands of our economy for electric power. The agreement foresees building up a big hydro-power station on the Drin river — the Fierza Hydro-power Station — one of the biggest hydro-power stations of the Drin river water exploitation scheme already approved by the Political Bureau and the Government. This hydro-power station will have an installed capacity of about 400 thousand kW, i.e. more than the entire capacity of the existing hydro-power stations of the country, the «Mao Tse-tung» Hydro-power Station on Vau i Dejës included. The electric power turned out by this sole hydropower station will be twice the amount of electric power produced today in Albania. Its 150 meter high dam will be among the highest in the world. It will be three times higher than that of the Vau i Dejës Hydro-power Station.

Comrade Deputies, as you see, the above mentioned objects make up a magnificent construction program which will give a great impulse to our economic development, further strengthening our country's economic independence in the future and bringing about important changes in the structure of our economy.

The construction of these projects will considerably increase the ranks of our working class, will bring on a further great development of various underdeveloped regions and areas of our country and will raise their economic, cultural and social life to a higher level.

There is not doubt that such a program of big projects will require hard work, great efforts and perfect management, But it will certainly be carried out successfully under the

leadership of our Party. For this purpose, it is foreseen to take all necessary steps for a speedy, good and cheap construction of the above-mentioned projects. The measures, recently taken for reorganizing the construction enterprises will serve this end, but the Council of Minister draws the attention on the fact that, if the great tasks foreseen by the project 1969 plan for the construction sector and, especially, the construction of the colossal projects in the near future are to be carried out successfully, the construction enterprises should still more improve their work and get greater help from the Ministry of Building Construction, the regional Executive Committees and the ministries concerned.

The new agreements with the People's Republic of China for the construction of the above mentioned projects are another brilliant manifestation of the unbreakable unity between our two peoples and Parties, with Comrade Enver Hoxha and Mao Tse-tung in the lead. This is a great and sincere friendship relying on Marxist-Leninist principles and our common cause. Therefore it will live for centuries. The visits our Party and Government and Government Economic Delegations paid to China last year as well as the visit the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation paid to our country served the further strengthening of this militant friendship. During our visit to the People's Republic of China we felt once more the great love and deep respect the 700 million-strong Chinese people nurture for our people, Party and Comrade Enver, as well as their unshakable determination to safeguard this great friendship as the apple of their eye, always standing side by side with our people, in days of weal and in days of woe.

Great people's China pursuing with great determination along the road of socialist construction, defending Marxism-Leninism in an uninterrupted struggle with imperialism and modern revisionism, marches forward with gigantic strides enlightened by the ideas of Mao Tse-tung.

The great victories of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution have made it even stronger in all respects. To the great ideological and political victories achieved during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution there are being added other successive victories in the field of industry, agriculture and in other sectors of the Chinese life as well as brilliant victories in strengthening of the defensive capacity of China. The results achieved during the last year, too, in agriculture and industry

and the last successful hydrogen bomb test have dealt a telling blow at the imperialists and modern revisionists, whose nuclear monopoly has already been cracked.

Comrade Deputies, on behalf of our people, Party, Government and People's Assembly, allow me to express from this high rostrum our most heartfelt thanks to the Chinese people, Party, Government and to the great leader of the Chinese people, the dearest friend of the Albanian people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for the sincere internationalist support and help they have given in the past and are giving to our country through the recent agreements and ensure them that, in the Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania, they will always find a sincere and life-long friend determined to defend great China, its great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our common Marxist-Leninist cause in severe and uncompromising struggle against the sworn enemies of the peoples — with that of the U.S.A.-led imperialism and modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist traitorous clique at its head.

Comrade Deputies,

The tasks foreseen in the proposed 1969 State plan and budget are very optimistic and fill us with the unshakable confidence that our country's laboring masses, under the leadership of our glorious Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its helm, working with the revolutionary impetus and enthusiasm characterizing them on the honour of the 25th anniversary of liberation, will make real and fulfil ahead of schedule the great tasks laid down by the Party 5th Congress for the development of our people's economy and culture.

The implementation of these tasks requires first of all the all-round uplift of the political and ideological consciousness of the broad working masses, of the State and economic cadres, the further improvement of their working style and method, raising to a higher degree the organization and management of work, in compliance with the new demands and in response to the revolutionary impetus of our working class and laboring peasantry.

The Council of Ministers will take all necessary steps so that the State and economic organs in the center and at the grass roots, relying on the revolutionary optimism of the

broad working masses, may fulfil all the tasks of 1969 proposed State plan and budget.

The Albanian people regard with great optimism their brilliant future, for they are convinced of the correctness of the revolutionary line of their Party, they have unshakable confidence in their own forces, in the cause they work and fight for, in the ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism.

The Council of Ministers expresses its deep conviction that the tasks of 1969 State plan and budget will be successfully fulfilled under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead, relying on the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of our valiant and hard-working people, as well as on the valuable contribution of all the Deputies of the People's Assembly.

WORKER CONTROL — COMPONENT PART OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE

HAKI TOSKA

**Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA
and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the PRA**

The working class possesses hegemony in our society. It has now increased in number and has been formed as a new industrial worker' class, reaching a high level of organization, a high level of technological and cultural development, having already gained a major Marxist-Leninist political and ideological experience and maturity. Under the guidance of its Party, the working class gives the tone to the whole life of our country. That is why the correct understanding and implementation of its historic mission and role of leadership make the working class have a deep sense of responsibility for the destiny and construction of socialism and communism in our homeland. Hence, the major task of the working class to exercise its control on everything and everybody, on cadres, forums and on the administration.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on «The Control by the Working Class», as a summing up of major theoretical and practical value of the role of the working class in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of our country, as a further contribution to the heritage of Marxism-Leninism, expresses clearly also the objective of this control. It is a powerful movement of those at the grass-roots of a deep ideological and political character which has aimed and aims at uprooting bureaucratic concepts, manifestations and distortions, at scrubbing off the dirt from the conscience of people and, in this way, at paving the way for a further revolutionization of the Party, of the State and economic organs, of the whole life of our country in order to

protect the dictatorship of the proletariat from the danger of the penetration of revisionism and restoration of capitalism in our country.

Analyses on the control of the working class made at the economic enterprises and organizations as well as those made at the State organs to which workers from different centers had been invited, went a long way towards further deepening the mass line; reports submitted and discussions entered into by workers in meetings at workshops and agricultural co-operatives helped to further improve the method of work and management of the State and economic organs at the grass-roots and at the center.

These analyses as well as the enlarged session of the Council of Ministers on the results attained so far and the steps to be taken for a further enforcement of the control by the working class on the activities of State and economic organs, went to show that the working class and the broad laboring masses are grasping more and more thoroughly the principles expressed in this historic document and are translating them into a major tangible and mobilizing force. Thus, by getting a deeper grasp of the mass line, the working class is playing its role better in establishing sounder relations between the administration and the working class, between the administration and the masses, between the cadres and the laboring masses. A further improvement has been marked also in the work of organizing and combining aright State control and worker's control by increasing, in this way, the active participation of the broad urban and rural laboring masses in giving the tone to and controlling the whole life of the country. It is noticed that, in their work, the State and economic organs are showing a deeper concern about pulling State control out of the closed administrative forms into revolutionary ones, about activating thousands of people from the ranks of the working class and cooperative peasantry. This turning point in the work of State and economic organs is yielding its results, for control is becoming more effective and more energetic. By doing this, worker's control at the regional Workshop in the Fieri district, at the food-processing enterprise, at the «Ernst Thälmann» Cannery and at the State Purchases Enterprise in the Vlora district solved problems dealing with securing raw materials, utilizing machinery with three shifts of work, and so on, which used to be an obstacle to a good beginning of the 1969 planned period.

All-round control by the workers has assumed a broader meaning. That is, worker's control is not confined to problems within an enterprise but also to those outside the work center, becoming a powerful factor in averting shortcomings, accomplishing tasks, educating cadres and the working class itself.

— 1 —

Combining State with worker's control, giving priority to the latter as the future goal of our society, is the concrete expression of democratic centralism which is brought about under our Party's guidance for the purpose of further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist democracy. **Therefore, it is indispensable for the working class to further deepen its control on all the activity of the State and economic organs,** entertaining no illusions of self-contentment, not reconciling with the idea that, after all this work, «everything goes smooth». On the contrary, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the establishment of full control by the working class is not the question of a campaign but a major historic and permanent task of building socialism and communism. This absolute law, by which our Party has been and is being guided in all its activity, is being daily corroborated by the revolutionary practice and very rich experience of the uninterrupted deepening of our socialist revolution. Nevertheless, this is only the beginning, these are only the preliminary steps and there is a lot more to be done. Viewing this matter from a wider angle, in conformity with our Party's and State's higher aims and objectives for the present and future, **it is essential for us to intensify our work for the ideological and political uplift of the working class, of cadres and of all the workers of our State and economic organs so that they may get a fuller and more correct grasp of the role of leadership of the working class and of its control.** This task springs from the fact that, in our country, it is the people who are in power, that our regime is the dictatorship of the working class, that is, the people exercise their will through their own government, that they themselves make the law and carry it out under the leadership of the Party which is guided by the revolutionary ideology and the interests of the working class.

A practical application of this basic principle requires a better and ever better realization that the role of leadership and control by the working class is an objective reality, an absolute necessity, a basic law on which our socialist State is built. Therefore, it behooves us to carry out to the letter this fundamental principle, to carry it out along revolutionary lines, without inserting the role of control by the working class in bureaucratic plans and programs and formal superficial acts and, less so, without under-rating it. Why do we raise the problem in this fashion? Because, despite the good work which is being done in this respect, experience goes to show that, in the relations between the State and economic organs and the masses, the working class, there still exist a number of discrepancies and weaknesses which spring, first and foremost, from an inadequate political and ideological understanding of this basic principle. There were cases when this problem was not grasped at once in certain central and local organs, some signs of tardiness and procrastination appeared in their work. This goes to show that such major topics are treated superficially. In the Lushnja Industrial Enterprise certain employees of the administration who were called to render account to the masses sidestepped this and did not even «condescend» to attend the meeting, while the person in charge of planning at the Elbasan Forestry Establishment, in reply to the just criticism of the forest workers at the Biza sector, said to them in a threatening tone: «I will close this sector leaving you without jobs». These show that there still exist impermissible bureaucratic manifestations and stands of placing the administration above the working class, above the masses, which are at variance with the principle that the people, the working class itself are in power, at variance also with the political, ideological and moral features that characterize the cadres and employees of our People's Regime.

Although in rare cases, there are cadres who are still victims of the spirit of commandeering, of arbitrariness, of suppressing criticism. In theory they probably speak a lot, deliver speeches and hold lectures, pretending they have a good grasp of the importance and theoretical significance of the role of leadership and control of the working class, but since they err, create or allow distortions in practice, they show that they have not grasped the ideologic and political essence of workers' control. Herein lies also the root of many defects and manifestations of bureaucracy like that of under-rating

the ideological work with people, running after the realization of planned targets in general, not appraising the role of the masses, of the working class, to a sufficient degree, not fulfilling the working and living needs of the workers within the range of our possibilities, etc. which have been observed in the work of certain State and economic organs. Therefore, it is essential for us to draw important lessons, to continue to concentrate our attention to a higher degree on the vivid work with people, so that our cadres may have a better look at themselves, in order to shake off the dust of bureaucracy from our State and economic organs at all levels, in order to bring home to everybody everywhere that worker control is not a campaign but a component part of our Party's and our State's revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology and practice.

Viewing it from this angle, we should oppose the erroneous idea that the education of the working class is a matter for the Party and for the Trade Unions alone to attend to. Speaking of the role of the State organs in educating the masses, great Lenin used to say: «...We do very little in educating the masses through living and concrete examples and models from all the fields of life, we devote little attention to the daily aspect of the inner life of the factory, of the inner life of the countryside, of the inner life of the regiment where, more than anywhere else, we should concentrate our attention, where more publicity and public criticism against what is unworthy are needed, where we should make more appeals to learn from good things... More attention should be paid to how the working and peasant masses are really building something new in their daily work...» What the working class and the cooperative peasantry ask of us is not only to say good words about them but, first and foremost, to take up their opinions and suggestions and carry them out without hesitation and procrastination. The cooperative farmers of the Durrës district harvest over 50 qt of rice per hectare. What is being done so that such yields may be harvested also in the Saranda, Elbasan and Shkodra districts? The Durrës cooperative farmers did not hesitate to go to Saranda to share their experience with their counterparts there wholeheartedly but they returned disappointed at the reception they were given there. They could not help noticing the skeptical attitude of the Saranda cadres. The working class and the cooperative peasantry can not stand such scornful attitude towards knowledge and work. To speak about the role of the working

class and not to carry out its creative thought means that the mission of the class and the role of the masses are misunderstood. Comrade Enver Hoxha got acquainted with brigade-leader Alo Qose, this humble hero of our days, through the columns of our press and dwelt at length on his deep communist features at work, in his daily life, in society and, above all, in his exemplary stand of placing common above personal interests. Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter to Alo Qose as well as that to Athina Mile have a major ideological and political content, that is why they have also aroused the imagination of the people who find in them ample inspiration to forge ahead. It is highly appropriate that, in their daily activities, the cadres should learn from the masses and then teach them, giving a further implementation to the Party's revolutionary slogan: «From the masses to the masses». This means that we should not only strive to educate the workers, peasants and all the labouring masses but, first and foremost and above all, to engage much more and in various ways in educating and tempering our own selves and the workers of the State apparatus. Therefore, we are called upon to open and re-open books and, above all, to organize the study of our life, of our practice as well as our direct participation in production work, carrying out without hesitation the task our Party has set for circulating cadres.

— 2 —

Through workers' control let us intensify our fight against manifestations of bureaucratism and thus carry out an aspect of the class struggle in our country. In line with this task our Party teaches us that workers' control will continue as long as classes, the class struggle and the State exist. This historical imperative rises from the fact that the working class is the backbone of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its control over everybody and everything serves the purpose of keeping always intact and unimpaired its own dictatorship in battle with all manifestations of bureaucratism in the State apparatus. Marxism-Leninism teaches us also that the leading role of the working class is jeopardized by bureaucratism. If we fail to fight against bureaucratism then, under given conditions and circumstances, the dictatorship of the proletariat

turns to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, revolution is replaced by counter-revolution and the working class turns from the class in power to the class under oppression. What happened in the Soviet Union, where a clique of renegades and revisionists usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a tragedy but, at the same time, a bitter lesson. That is why our Party has constantly, particularly during recent years, taken a number of decisions and has mapped out a number of important steps to take in battle with manifestations of bureaucracy, in order to block all avenues to the penetration of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country. The complete accomplishment of this task by the working class and the employees of State organs is possible only through a continuous war on bureaucratic distortions, on intellectualism, technocratism, etc. in order to establish a revolutionary method and style at work which will fully comply with the revolutionary drive of the working class. Where should we concentrate our attention? Analyses drawn up everywhere in the spirit of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on workers' control, go to show that, in the future too, our attention should be centered on further perfecting relations between State organs and the laboring masses and on the continuous improvement of the method and style of work of the State organs themselves; on the consolidation of the role and functions of the council of technicians in the unified management of enterprises; on raising the participation of the working class in the leading organs of the State and economy as an essential condition to revive, refresh and strengthen the links between the State apparatus and the masses; on further strengthening the relations of the central organs with those at the grass-roots and the masses and organizing the assistance to the grass-roots on a better basis; on organizing work in production on better lines; on grasping and carrying out correctly the Party policy on circulation of cadres; on fighting against the outdated methods and forms of management of work; on further perfecting the methodology of planning, so as to increase the participation of the laboring masses and their revolutionary initiative. In this respect, there is still a lot of formalism, of officialdom and, above all, little is done in looking for more appropriate and active forms to bring about closer relations between the State organs and those at the grass-roots. This will be fully achieved only when cadres and workers of the State and economic organs mix with the laboring masses,

when they take part in their daily efforts to fulfil their tasks in production, to surmount difficulties, to lend an ear to the remarks and suggestions of the masses and to uphold and carry out to the letter the creative proposals and initiatives of the working class and the laboring masses. In this line, most of the proposals advanced have been applicable and have already been put into practice. The important thing is that in many cases, like at the Knitting Works in Korça, at the «Mao Tse-tung» Textile Mills in Berat, at many enterprises in the Elbasan district and elsewhere, the administration has rendered account to their collectives about the application of these proposals.

Nevertheless, the analyses made in the spirit of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech have shown that, in spite of improvements, not everywhere have the workers' proposals been carried out to increase production, to improve the quality of products, to raise yields and to improve work conditions. There are cases of unjustifiable procrastination, recoiling before difficulties and often their solution pursues a bureaucratic path. In the Librazhdi district, for instance, only 30% of the proposals pertaining to the Executive Committee have been examined. The meeting of the collective of the State Purchase Enterprise in Korça which was deliberating on the application of the workers' proposals was not attended by either the director or any other leading cadre of the administration of the enterprise. Signs of procrastination appear also in the work of the central organs.

What does all this show? It shows that no serious attitude is maintained towards the voice and opinion of the masses. And it is precisely here that one of the dangers of bureaucratism lies. This smothers the initiative of the working class and the cooperative peasantry and cultivates a feeling of indifferentism among them.

To maintain a serious attitude towards the working class and the masses on these problems means to listen to and value their opinions. It is precisely here that appears the predisposition of cadres and of the apparatuses of the State and economy to value, encourage and support the control of the working class. Therefore, let us make it a rule to post the proposals of the workers on a bulletin board accessible to all on which to write when they will be put into effect, by whom, etc. as the Shkodra Transport Enterprise has done, an experience which we should spread everywhere in line

with V.I. Lenin's teaching: «..we will do everything that can be done to uproot bureaucracy; we will accept any practical advice in this regard...»

— 3 —

The application and correct combination of State and workers' control are the most powerful means to perfect the activity of our State apparatuses, to strengthen our socialist democracy. «State control,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is the means of the dictatorship of the working class; it is specialized but, on the other hand, it is limited in number, while worker control is a direct control by the working class, which is carried out through thousands of commissions that emerge from the ranks of this class». What the eye and ear of the working class, of the laboring masses, sees and hears cannot be seen and heard by inspectors and auditors, be they ever so many in number and so gifted in skill. We could cite many cases to prove that State controls and audits are now better organized and prepared for, are based more on the mass line, on the working class, by activating workers to a large extent, and, as a consequence, the results are more satisfactory. Nevertheless, it is our duty to fight persistently and patiently against the erroneous idea that things will go wrong, mistakes will not be detected and corrected if they are not submitted to the control from above, from the State, from the leading organs, just as we should fight better also against the equally erroneous idea that State control cannot co-exist, cannot collaborate with workers' control because, it is pretended, workers' control supersedes State control and that both of these controls will be at loggerheads in practice. It goes without saying that such obscure ideas badly jeopardize both State and workers' control and become a serious obstacle to carrying out the mass line in further revolutionizing our People's Rule. State and workers' control are two aspects of a single process supplementing each other. Workers' control presupposes State control which is exercised by the State on behalf of the working class and for the purpose of protecting its interests. As such, State control, which is exercised by the higher over the lower level, should continue to be strengthened and become more effective, it should be exercised not only by the higher organs and administrations over their dependent organs and admini-

nistrations but also, and more so, over the work of every worker, cadre, person in charge and on the work of the rank and file of the workers in sectors, brigades or groups. All are to render account to the State on their discipline at work, on the plan, on the accomplishment of the tasks assigned to them on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. Therefore, it is essential for the central organs, for the directors of enterprises and managers of agricultural cooperatives to exercise their control and render account to the collectives and do it better and better as time goes by. It is essential that control by the State and by the working class should be systematically exercised also on the agricultural cooperatives because, without it, the fight against alien manifestations, distortions and procrastination both at the management of the cooperative as well as among the cooperative members will not fare well.

Combining State with workers' control as correctly as possible, giving more and more priority to the latter, under the leadership of the higher, more absolute control of the Party, provides the basic key to the method of work of the State and economic organs for the continuous deepening of our socialist revolution. In this respect, it is just that the workers who are activated to help State control should emerge from the collective and represent it in a worthy manner. At the same time, when control and audit teams or individual persons are sent from the center or district to the grassroots, they should be prepared, having clear objectives, to help and collaborate with workers, cooperative members and other laboring masses. It would be more propitious for the State organs to make it a rule not to exercise control and auditing without the participation of the working class or of the cooperative members. During controls at the grassroots, the topics of control should be submitted for discussion to the workers' collective and, as a general rule, the conclusions of State control should be submitted to the working class and the cooperative members without fail. Not an administrative control, but a well-organized control strictly adhering to the mass line and combined a right with the control of the working class, can be a real revolutionary control. This is the kind of control we are after. But side by side with the organization and combination of these two forms of the control by the class, the State and economic organs should not consider it the task of the trade unions alone to see to it that the

working class exercise their direct and all-round control on everybody and everything. In certain districts like those of Tirana, Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Mirdita, Elbasan, Fieri, Gjirokastra etc. good work is being done, forms and methods are being worked out to facilitate and stimulate the initiative of the working class to exercise its control to the full. Warding off any manifestation of setting the working class against the State organs, or the tendency to dub directors of State and economic organs as bureaucrats, it is necessary to take practical measures so that the working class may have its say, freely and unhampered, that it may tell off, on the spot and without mercy, any bureaucratic manifestation and distortion, that the activity of State and economic organs at all levels should be duly subjected to the practice of rendering account to the working class. The range of problems which the working class can and should tackle is wide indeed. It should exercise its control both within and outside the enterprise, including the ranks of the working class, as an important means of educating itself, of detecting and doing away with discrepancies at work in its own ranks, of attacking any negative elements who may have wormed their way into its ranks and who, under the guise of the working class, try to undermine its control. The positive stand the workers of the Gjirokastra leather and shoe enterprise took towards work quotas shows that the control of the working class within its ranks is necessary and inseparable from any other control. The vigorous fight launched through flash posters against certain workers of the shoe-making sector of this enterprise who demanded lower work quotas brought about a rejection of their ungrounded demands prompted by their personal interests over those of the collective. Therefore, who else than the worker himself can see how the director, the chief engineer, the foreman or worker by his side does his job? None! Indifferentism, no matter how slight, on the part of the working class itself, towards the shortcomings within its own ranks, damages socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In these important matters regarding the control of the working class, all the State and economic organs should always be guided by Comrade Enver Hoxha's directive that: «workers' control is the surest means by which the working class maintains the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarantees the implementation of the line of its own party, of its program».

Let us raise to a higher level the role of worker control in the general struggle of our people to develop our country economically and culturally as well as to successfully accomplish the tasks set by the State plan.

Without pointing out the major achievements attained from one day to another, it is necessary for us to stress that in our work there is still a great deal to be done in order to further activate the working class, to raise its control in the field of economy, education and culture as well as to further deepen the mass line. This is an important matter that should be well understood by everybody. By being in power, the working class enjoys rights but incurs obligations at the same time. It is clear that in our country, where socialism is being built, where exploitation of man by man has been abolished once and for all time, where the destiny of our country is guided by the working class through its State and its vanguard, the Party of Labor of Albania, the obligations of the working class are, in the first place, obligations towards itself, towards its State as well as towards the other laboring masses whom the working class leads. The combination of the rights and obligations of the working class, in as correct a way as possible and on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, as two aspects of one single entity, constitutes a decisive factor in completing the construction of socialist society and in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. Therefore, it is up to us to fight against the narrow and biased conception of this problem, to fight against any bureaucratic distortion which aims at reducing the role of workers' control to something of little and trifling importance. All the economic, State and cooperative organs should fight against the formal work done in certain cases in submitting the plan targets to the laboring masses, to fight against manifestations of contempt towards the teachings and proposals of the masses, towards belittling the role of workers and cooperative peasants, against procrastination in putting into practice the creative initiatives of the working class and other laboring masses, which is still appearing here and there. The actual tasks set by the 1969 plan, as well as the brilliant prospects which have been opened up to our country by the major projects which will be built with the fraternal internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China, demand of working

class, of our cooperative peasantry, of our people as a whole to concentrate all their attention on the most cardinal problems. The most fundamental problems on which the class control should be fully exercised are those of raising work output, of utilizing work time as efficiently as possible by establishing proletarian discipline, of placing public above personal and group interests, of raising the degree of mechanization relying on our own resources, of making as efficient use of hand labor as possible, of striving to fulfil the planned targets not only in quantity but also in assortments, on time and in quality, of establishing a strict regime of preventing waste, of striving for high yields in agriculture not only from food grains but also from industrial crops and dairy products as well as of doing further work in revolutionizing education, arts and culture and other problems like these. In this respect there are still many latent and unutilized resources. The 1968 plan targets in production were not reached in all assortments. There were districts, as for example, those of Kruja, Berat, Tirana, Elbasan and Shkodra, which, despite the fact that they over-reached their planned targets in industrial production as a whole, in assortments reached the planned targets 41.90%, 52.30%, 83.80% and 85.20% etc. respectively. Many enterprises can turn out equipment that go to mechanizing the processes of work and production but, unfortunately, this type of work has not been properly organized. There is a lot to be done also in further enforcing prevention of waste and discipline at work.

Last year, work output in industrial production reached 950% of the planned target. Of the 26 districts only 15 realized the planned target of work output in industrial production. Last year, it turned out also that a lot of work time was wasted in almost all sectors. Over 2 million hours of work were wasted with no plausible excuse in the enterprises of the Ministry of Industry and Mining alone, 500 thousand in those of the Ministry of Building Construction, and so on. We emphasize this because, if every worker wastes one hour of work a day, it reaches a figure equal to 46,000 workhands with a loss of 300 million leks a year to our people's economy. In agriculture, despite the major success scored in the production of food grains, a big deficit was created in certain other crops like tobacco and cotton. We mention these facts so that we may size up our work and point out to what extent we have approached the laboring masses, the working class

and the cooperative peasantry on these important matters and to prove how necessary it is to raise to a higher level the role of worker control on all the economic, social and cultural activities and development in our country. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech is an historic program of action in this line, too. In this jubilee year, our people, united to a man around our Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, marches ahead in a high revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism, in order to await the glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution with brilliant achievements to their credit.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

OF THE BOARD OF STATISTICS ON THE FULFILMENT OF THE 1968 STATE PLAN

1968, the third year of the 4th five-year planned period, wound up with further major and all-round successes in developing the productive forces and in raising the well-being and cultural level of our people by revolutionary leaps and bounds. Our working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligentsia, being guided by and getting an ever better and more thorough grasp of the teachings of the Party, have been characterized by a greater drive and enthusiasm at work to push our revolution ahead in all fields, by a wider participation in this revolution and a more correct understanding of the need for deeper revolutionary transformations in the whole life of the country, by a further delving in the technological and scientific revolution by taking new and bold initiatives, by a further deepening of the mass line by enforcing worker control, especially, following Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech on this matter in April 1968.

The plan targets in the various branches of economy have been reached as follows:

I — IN INDUSTRY

The workers of industry fulfilled the 1968 targets in their main indices: in crude oil — 103%, gasoline and petroleum — 94%, mazut and solar oil — 100%, bitumen — 103%, coal — 100%, chromium ore 102%, blister copper — 109%, copper wire — 102%, iron-nickel ore — 101%, rolled metal — 101%, phosphate and nitrate fertilizers — 99%, soda ash and caustic soda — 113%, electric power — 104%, Diesel

engines — 103%, electric motors 113%, power transformers — 125%, machinery and other equipment — 108%, spare parts — 107%, cement — 101%, asbestos cement tubes and slabs 100% and 101% respectively, bricks and tiles — 103%, sawn timber — 102%, plywood — 100%, veneer — 111%, woodshavings and fiber slabs — 100%, printing and writing paper — 100%, wrapping paper — 113%, cotton textiles — 102%, wollen fabrics — 101%, knitted goods — 102%, shoes — 107%, fishing — 102%, sugar — 107%, edible oils — 93%, macaroni — 99%.

Global industrial production reached the 102.7% mark, or 19% above that of 1967 as follows: the electric power industry increased — 21%, that of naphtha — 21%, coal — 13%, chrome — 19%, copper — 54%, iron-nickel — 9%, chemicals — 61%, machine making — 28%, materials of construction — 34%, timber and paper — 13%, light industry — 15%, food-processing — 11%.

During 1968, good results were recorded in prospecting for and discovering naphtha, coal, phosphorite, iron-nickel, asbestos, decorative stones and other beds. The planned targets of industrial reserves of all the principal minerals were reached while those of coal and phosphorites were surpassed to a perceptible degree.

Resolved to put into application the Party's instructions on the further development of the technological and scientific revolution, the workers of industry have submitted this year 26,000 valuable rationalizing proposals in order to increase and improve the structure of production, to mechanize work processes, to prevent the waste of materials and raw materials, to organize work, and so on. On the proposals of workers, technicians and engineers, good work has been done in setting up new sectors and lines of production making it possible to turn out at home many items formerly imported from abroad. Over 350 new sectors and lines have been set up including a plant to turn out electrical appliances, lines to turn out plastic shoes and sandals, Bergman tubes and locks in Durrës, a sector to turn out stamped knitted garments for children in Korça, a sector to turn out trailers and a line to turn out aluminium wires in Shkodra, a workshop to produce electromotors and complex woodworking machinery etc in Vlora,, the «Dajti» plant and over 90 new sectors and lines to turn out steel tubes of diameters ranging from 300 to 800 mm and bushings for motor vehicles, a polygon to turn

out reinforced concrete columns and lines to produce cranes for building construction, shoe molds, lamp sockets, etc.

Production costs in industry were about 2⁰/₀ below plan.

The 1968 industrial production covered and over-reached the production targets set for 1970 in blister copper, iron ore, phosphate fertilizers, caustic soda, machinery and equipment, spare parts, asbestos cement tubes and slabs, bricks, lumber and sawn timber, paper, woollen textiles and others. Global industrial production in 1968 was 50⁰/₀ above that of 1965, reaching in this way the minimum limit set in the 4th five-year planned period for 1970. This constitutes a major victory for our Party, our people and our heroic working class, for our Party's line and teachings on the revolutionization of the life of our country; it testifies to the deep inspiration aroused by these teachings which, being better mastered, have turned into a major material force and a guarantee to forge ahead at a more rapid pace.

II. — IN AGRICULTURE

In spite of unfavorable weather conditions, through the great efforts they exerted, through a further development of their initiatives at work, their better organization of work time and numerous experimentations, the agricultural workers succeeded in getting good results this year as well. 19,570 hectares of land were reclaimed and the area planted to field crops was 7.5 above that of the preceding agricultural year. In general the 1968 fall planting was carried out under suitable agro-technological conditions, particularly, as far as tilling, systematization, the use of seeds and a better use of fertilizers is concerned.

The planned targets for production of cereals — the principal task set for agriculture by the 5th Party Congress — were reached in a satisfactory way. The production of cereals in 1968 was 11⁰/₀ higher than in 1967, reaching, thus, the highest level of cereal production so far. Notwithstanding the damages certain crops suffered due to unfavorable weather conditions, this year's agricultural production was higher than in 1967, thanks to the great efforts exerted by our agricultural workers. Characteristic of these recent years is the fact that agricultural production has been more stable and steadily rising. This goes to show, for 1968 in particular, that agricultural production, relying firmly, first and foremost, on hard

work, agricultural technique, scientific experimentation and on the technical and material basis, is developing by leaps and bounds.

In comparison with 1967, production increased: in cereals — 12⁰/₀, potatoes — 73⁰/₀, beans — 4⁰/₀, tobacco — 14⁰/₀, sunflower — 8⁰/₀, vegetables and mellons — 5⁰/₀, fruits — 44⁰/₀, grapes — 26⁰/₀, and so on.

The volume of mechanized work done by the Machine and Tractor Stations and State Farms increased 13⁰/₀ as against 1967 whereas the number of tractors grew 12⁰/₀. The volume of chemical fertilizers supplied to agriculture was twofold that supplied in 1967. Work continued on irrigation schemes; many of them were completed and turn over for use, particularly, in hilly areas and mountain slopes. The tasks set for increasing irrigation capacity was fulfilled 107⁰/₀.

III. — TRANSPORTS

Transport workers attained good results in reaching the plan targets; in their work they are continually being guided by their high sense of duty to supply our people and our economy uninterruptedly, to make efficient use of their vehicles and make transportation less costly.

The plan of transports for some staple items was fulfilled by the motor vehicle enterprises of the Ministry of Communication as follows: chrome ore — 102⁰/₀ iron-nickel ore — 102⁰/₀, coal — 97⁰/₀, bitumen — 107⁰/₀, lumber — 89⁰/₀, firewood — 93⁰/₀, etc.

The plan of circulation of goods in ton/km was fulfilled by motor vehicles — 101⁰/₀, by rail — 103⁰/₀, by sea (within the country) — 107⁰/₀, to foreign ports — 103⁰/₀.

In comparison with 1967, the volume of circulation of goods in ton/km increased: by motor vehicles — 8⁰/₀, by rail — 6⁰/₀.

The plan of circulation in passenger/km was fulfilled 108⁰/₀ by motor vehicles and 114⁰/₀ by rail.

IV. — BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

Through their efforts to get a better grasp of and carry out the Party directives to build better, faster and cheaper, the workers in building construction concluded 1968 with good results. They completed and turned over for operation: the

cement factory in Elbasan, the fourth turbine at the thermo-power station, the oil refinery in Fier, the Rogozhina-Fieri railway line, the Upland Highway, the Ulëz-Bulqiza high tension line, the systematization and asphaltting of the Patos-Ballsh-Memaliaj highway and many other projects. They completed building about 170 minor irrigation schemes mainly in hilly and mountainous regions. They also set up a number of buildings earmarked for education, culture and public health service.

The planned targets of building construction in the principal works realized by the enterprises of the Ministry of Building Construction were reached as follows: in the «Mao Tse-tung» Hydro-electric Power-plant — 112⁰/₀, in the Fier Thermo-power Station — 159⁰/₀, in the «Mao-Tse-tung» Textile Mills in Berat — 100⁰/₀, in the Korça Machinshop — 119⁰/₀, in the Kavaja Glass Factory — 88⁰/₀, in the expansion of the Durrës Motor Vehicle Repair Shop — 127⁰/₀, in drainage and irrigation of the Muzeqe plain in Vlora — 107⁰/₀, in irrigation and drainage of the Hoxhara plain — 88⁰/₀, in the improvement of the water system in the Shkodra plain — 128⁰/₀, in the irrigation and drainage in the Korça and Devolli plains — 92⁰/₀, in the systematization and asphaltting of the Shkodra-Hani Hotit motor highway — 113⁰/₀, in that of the Ndër-Fusha — Fush-Arrëz — 126⁰/₀, in that of Butrint-Saranda — 103⁰/₀.

The global volume of building construction by the Ministry of Building Construction Enterprises was fulfilled 100⁰/₀ or 9⁰/₀ above that of 1967.

Building and installation costs were 1.2⁰/₀ below plan (for the 9-month period).

V. — IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL WELFARE AND CULTURAL UPLIFT OF WORKERS

During 1968, the material welfare and cultural uplift of the workers were further improved. The national income compared with that of 1967 was nearly 11⁰/₀ higher, while the number of workers and employees increased 10⁰/₀. The goods sold to the population through catering units increased above those of 1967 as follows: fats about 8⁰/₀, meat — 10⁰/₀, fish — 14⁰/₀, milk — 3⁰/₀, eggs — 7⁰/₀, sugar — 14⁰/₀, beans — 15⁰/₀, rice — 15⁰/₀, potatoes — 79⁰/₀, cotton fabrics — 21⁰/₀, wollens — 43⁰/₀, shoes — 26⁰/₀, timber — 14⁰/₀, and so on. The network

of catering units was expanded, especially, in the countryside where it increased 20⁰%. The plan targets of circulation of retail goods were reached 104⁰%. In comparison with 1967, the circulation of goods increased, in general, 9⁰% while in the rural areas it increased 14⁰%.

About 86⁰% more apartment houses were built in 1968 than in 1967. A valuable contribution was rendered in this respect by the city workers who, universalizing their initiative to build houses through voluntary labor, built 3,200 apartment houses and are working on 1,600 others.

A lot of work was done during this year to carry out the tasks set by the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee to have all the rural areas of the country furnished with electric current by November 8, 1971. The 1968 plan of the electric reticulation of rural areas was over-fulfilled. 340 villages received electricity as against 244 planned for and nearly 27,500 homes and social and cultural institutions were lit by electricity. 1,127 villages or 44⁰% of the total number of villages in the country have now already received electricity.

During this year, hand in hand with bringing electricity to individual villages, work has been done in bringing electricity to whole districts and regions. Thus, the work of electrification has been completed for the villages of the Kelmend and Dukagjin regions in the Shkodra district, of Pac and Lekbibaj in the Tropoja district, of Dropull in the Gjirokastra district, of Lopas in the Tepelena district, of Pustec and Gora in the Korça district, the Partizan region in the Saranda district, most of Mallakastër a region in the Fier district, whereas work is continuing on the electrification of the Shishtavec region in the Kukës district, of Çermënikë in the Librazhd district and in other regions.

For the electric reticulation of rural areas, there were set up 8 hydroelectric power stations, 1,108 km of high tension lines, 2,338 km of low tension networks and 370 transformer cabins.

The various services to the population by the municipal and handicraft enterprises scored further successes during this year. The plan of various services was fulfilled 101⁰% and that of building construction services 106⁰%.

Good all-round work has been done to put into practice the Party directives to extend services and auxiliary activities to the countryside. As compared with 1967, the number of units increased in 1968 as follows: blacksmith shops — 56⁰%,

collective bakeries — 39⁰/₀, builders brigades — 39⁰/₀ collective kitchens — 67⁰/₀, tailors shops — about threefold, shoeshops — about threefold, barber shops — twofold, etc.

The state budget was realized 102⁰/₀ in incomes and 98⁰/₀, in expenditures with a surplus of incomes over expenditures amounting to 210 million leks as against 40 million leks planned for.

Export of goods increased 10⁰/₀ above that of 1967.

Public education and culture marked further development. Taking their clue from the ideas set forth in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, all the workers took active part in the public discussions that were held all over the country on the further revolutionization of our schools. Public education was further extended during this period: 180 new 8th grade schools were opened mostly in the remote mountainous regions, 93⁰/₀ of the children who had been through primary education were registered in 8th grade schools surpassing in this way the target set by the 5th Party Congress for 1970. In the atmosphere of the revolutionization of the whole life of the country, the number of rural workers and employees who attended school without a break in their daily jobs increased this year to a perceptible extent. 63 vocational secondary schools were opened mainly near enterprises for workers who attend them without a break in their jobs, and the number of lower vocational schools for grown-ups increased. The upper schools for grown-ups were also extended; 4 evening 2-year institutes, 7 branches of upper schools and 6 upper courses of qualification for workers were opened at the State University of Tirana.

During 1968, the number of students graduating from the upper daytime, evening and correspondence schools reached the 1,365 mark, or 12⁰/₀ more than in 1967. 571 students graduated from the 2-year upper teachers training institutes. The number of students graduating from secondary schools was 33⁰/₀ above that of 1967.

During the 1968-1969 schoolyear, 7 percent more pupils were registered at primary, eighth year and middle schools than in 1967. About 13.100 students were registered at our high schools, or 29 percent more than in 1967, without taking into account those registered at the 2-Year Teachers' Training Institutes.

Art and culture were further developed during 1968. The amateur artist movement and mass cultural activities were further extended. The Gjirokastra Festival of Folksongs and

Dances and the Festival of Variety Theaters which took place in 1968 are a testimony to the unprecedented outspread of these movements.

Significant progress was made in the domain of public health. According to preliminary returns, over 214 million leks have been spent on safeguarding the people's health. 33 health institutions equipped with beds were set up during 1968, 9 of which were hospitals. The number of beds in health institutions increased 80%. The number of physicians and dentists in 1968 was 1,409 or 80% above those in 1967. The number of inhabitants per physician was reduced from 1,510 in 1967 to 1,431 in 1968. Major importance was attached to public health service in the rural areas. In addition to other steps taken to safeguard the health of rural workers, the Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation dispatched 70% of its newly employed physicians to give their services to the rural population. The capacity of city creches increased 20% above that of 1967, whereas the stationary creches in agricultural cooperatives increased 83% while that of provisional creches more than twofold.

* * *

The great successes attained in the development of economy and culture during 1968, give a clear picture of the energetic work, enthusiasm, and all-round efforts of the workers of our country with our heroic working class standing, as always, on the forefront, they are a further great proof of the correct revolutionary line and leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The progress made, the optimism and deep confidence of our people in their future, blazed by the Party teachings, are the surest guarantee for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the planned targets set for 1969, the great jubilean year celebrating the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country.

FROM THE BOARD OF STATISTICS AT THE
PLANNING COMMISSION

Tirana, January 28, 1969.

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO THE
9th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung,
Dear Comrade Delegates:

The news of the opening of the Ninth National Congress of the glorious Communist Party of China filled the hearts of all our Communists and people with indescribable joy. The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is an event of historic significance not only to the Chinese Communist Party and to the fraternal Chinese people, but also to all the Communists, people and genuine revolutionaries throughout the world.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Albanian Communists and the entire Albanian people, with the purest feeling of love and communist respect, we convey to you our most ardent revolutionary greetings and whole-heartedly wish the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China complete success in its proceedings.

The congress of your great heroic Party is being held at a time when the red hanner of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the red banner of the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, is flying victoriously all over China.

The counter-revolutionary plot of the sinister gang headed by the renegade and scab Lui Shao-chi has been smashed, and the hopes and plans of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and other reactionaries to get the Chinese fortress from within have been blown to pieces.

This unprecedented revolution, initiated and directly led with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and farsightedness by Comrade

Mao Tse-tung, aroused the 700 million Chinese people in a life-and-death struggle to bar the road to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, and to defend the gains of revolution and socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the heat of this revolution, the revolutionary masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres and intellectuals, armed with the great thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, provided lofty examples of determination, courage and revolutionary initiative. The great proletarian cultural revolution has become a great school for tempering the class consciousness and proletarian revolutionary spirit of the multi-million masses of the Chinese people.

The light of the great proletarian cultural revolution shines over all China. Its rays radiate throughout the world bedazzling all the enemies of the peoples, revolution and socialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a crushing blow to the global counter-revolutionary strategy of the Soviet-U.S. alliance for world domination. It is an inexhaustible source of inspiration to the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism. It is a brilliant example for all the revolutionaries in the revisionist countries of how to rise in revolution and to overthrow the revisionist cliques in power. It has given an unprecedented impetus to the world revolutionary movement.

Your Ninth Congress, which will sum up the rich experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution, will go down in history as the congress of the triumph of Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, of the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is being held under the personal direction of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the glorious founder of the Communist Party of China and the great leader of the Chinese revolution and of socialist construction in China.

Like a giant rising before the peoples and all revolutionaries, Mao Tse-tung, the great Marxist-Leninist and teacher of revolution, has developed and raised to a new and higher stage the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Mao Tse-tung's genius has been once more manifested with unexampled force during the great proletarian cultural revolution. He personally worked out the strategy and tactics

of this unequalled revolution and has led it to decisive victory.

Whole generations of revolutionaries on all continents are brought up with Mao Tse-tung's ideas and teachings, which draw them into the flames of revolution.

The Albanian Communists and the entire Albanian people, like all other genuine revolutionaries, regard Chairman Mao Tse-tung as their most cherished friend and wish him good health and long life.

The Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, and the proletarian masses of the whole world follow, heart and mind, the proceedings of your great congress. This congress will be a new course of light and revolutionary inspiration for the forthcoming battles against the bourgeoisie, revisionism and world reaction.

The People's Republic of China today is the fortress of world revolution and the bulwark of freedom and independence of the peoples. With firm steps, the Chinese colossus is steadfastly advancing towards socialism and communism. With a population of 700 million, China, where the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary ideas is fluttering victoriously, plays a historic and decisive role in present world development.

The People's Republic of China stands as a granite mountain and invincible barricade against the adventures, intrigues, plots and aggressive plans of imperialism and modern revisionism. In the face of its correct policy and its incalculable power, the criminal dreams of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists to suppress revolution, enslave the peoples and dominate the world are to be completely frustrated. Born in revolution, growing stronger in the protracted class battles against numerous and monstrous enemies, tempered in the great cultural revolution and armed with the life-giving teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great People's China towers like a giant of triumphant revolution and shows to all the oppressed peoples the road to victory, the road to socialism and communism.

The Ninth Congress will further strengthen your glorious Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. It will unite the Chinese people still more closely around the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It will be another heavy blow to the anti-China plots of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and other reactionaries. Socialist China is

invincible. The resolute stand of the 700 million Chinese people and the crushing rebuff they gave to the bandit-like armed provocations of the Soviet revisionist clique against China's Chenpao Island show the whole world that the People's Republic of China is inviolable.

Should imperialism or revisionism one day attempt to carry out provocations against the great Chinese people, encroach upon their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and impair their socialist gains, they will receive crushing counterblows that would signal their doom.

Let the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries the world over tremble before the triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution, before the non-stop march of great socialist China and before Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary ideas which inspire Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the whole world and fill them with confidence.

The future belongs to the peoples, to the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Capitalism and revisionism will be overthrown and buried. Communism and Marxism-Leninism will triumph all over the world.

All the Communists and working people of Albania wholeheartedly acclaim the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Your victories are our victories. The Albanian Party of Labor and the Communist Party of China and the Albanian people and the Chinese people are inseparable comrades-in-arms; they are inspired by the same ideals; they are marching shoulder to shoulder on the common road of the uninterrupted socialist revolution; they stand at the forefront of struggle against the sworn enemies of socialism and revolution — U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism. The militant friendship and unity between our two Parties and peoples have been forged by Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the steel-like basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They have been tempered in the heat of the joint struggle against the common enemies and for the defence and winning of victory in our great common cause.

Our proletarian friendship, solidarity and unity are invincible. They shine like sunlight and are an unprecedented example of real internationalist relations between Parties, countries and peoples and an important factor for the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

Analysing and summing up the work and heroic fight

of the glorious Communist Party of China, your Ninth Congress will make a new contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism. It will further enrich the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will raise still higher the glory of the revolutionary ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great Marxist-Leninist. It will open a new and brilliant period in China's triumphant march along the road of socialism and communism.

Long live the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China!

Long live the great Marxist-Leninist Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Tirana, April 2, 1969

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF
ALBANIA SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
CHINA AND TO COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG**

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, of the Albanian communists and all the Albanian people who have followed with indescribable enthusiasm and undivided attention the proceedings of the 9th Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of China, allow me to express to you our wholehearted and revolutionary congratulations on the complete success of the 9th Congress of your glorious Party and on the historic decisions it adopted.

The 9th Congress writes a brilliant page in the long history filled with heroic and legendary battles of the great Communist Party of China. It sanctioned Chairman Mao's revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, held fast and raised higher the red banner of revolution and socialism, further strengthened and tempered the Party, its unity of thought and action on the basis of the triumphant ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The programmatic documents, Chairman Mao's speeches, the political report submitted by Deputy-Chairman Lin Biao and the new constitution of the Party which were unanimously approved at the Congress, open up brilliant prospects to the Chinese Communist Party and to the 700-million strong Chinese people, to score further and greater victories throughout the country, to carry the revolution through to the end, to proceed at a faster rate towards building socialism and communism in China.

We are very glad that, in a fiery revolutionary atmosphere, the historic 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China unanimously elected to the Party leadership the great founder and leader of the Communist Party of China, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist and strategist of genius of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and his close comrade-in-arms and co-fighter, Comrade Lin Piao, as his assistant. We heartily greet the new Central Committee elected at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China and made up of revolutionaries tested in fierce class battles and in the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution, loyal to the end to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and to his triumphant ideas.

Together with the Chinese communists and people, the Albanian communists and people, just as all the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in the world, consider the resolutions of the 9th Congress of your glorious Party as a sure guarantee that the Communist Party of China will always hold high the inflexible banner of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and proletarian internationalism, that it will consolidate and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and will make great People's China a more powerful bastion and champion of the liberation struggle of the people and of world revolution.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Congress of proletarian unity and of victory over the traitorous, revisionist and counter-revolutionary line of renegade, provocateur and scab Liu Shao-chi, marks a new stage not only of the development of revolution and socialist construction in China but also of the battle to bring about the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism, of socialism over capitalism and of revolution over counter-revolution in the world. That is why the hearts and eyes of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the whole world have been turned these days to your great Congress, that is why their hearts are overfilled with joy at this great historic event. The solemn declaration of the Congress that «moulded by its great leader Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China will forever abide by proletarian internationalism, it will give fullest support to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, of the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world» inspires and encourages all the communists and revolutionary peoples to widen and carry always ahead their

fight against US-led imperialism, against Soviet-led modern revisionism and against all reactionaries, with a view to creating a new world without capitalism and imperialism, without oppressors and exploiters.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China dealt a fresh telling blow at the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, at these renegades of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin who have turned to social-imperialists and social-fascists and act in close counter-revolutionary collusion with the U.S. imperialists, these most savage enemies of the people. The imperialist-revisionist intentions against great socialist China and against all the freedom-loving peoples of the world will meet with shameful failure; the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists will be fully and definitely smashed. There is no force on earth that can stop the triumphant march of the People's Republic of China. There is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of revolution. There is no force on earth that can save the imperialists and revisionists from their final defeat. The triumph of the revolutionary cause of the people is irrevocably determined.

The Albanian communists and people, who are bound by unbreakable ties of friendship with the Chinese communists and people, immeasurably rejoice at the great success of the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China and consider it as their own. Our hearts throb as one, we are inseparable brothers and comrades-in-arms. Our unity is steel-like. The decisions of the 9th Congress of your heroic Party will, for certain, strengthen the ties of the great friendship and solidarity between our two Parties and countries raising to new heights our common struggle for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and of the liberation of peoples.

The Party of Labor of Albania and all the Albanian people wholeheartedly wish that the Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's all-conquering ideas, may achieve, under his wise and farsighted Marxist-Leninist leadership, further and ever greater successes and victories along the bright road of socialism mapped out by the 9th Party Congress.

Long live the great and glorious Communist Party of China!

May Chairman Mao, great leader and great Marxist-

Leninist, closest friend of the Albanian people, live as long as the mountains!

May the unbreakable ties of friendship and the militant unity between our two Parties and peoples live and wax stronger for ever!

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA
(signed) ENVER HOXHA.

Tirana April 29, 1969

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA HAS RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM
FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA:**

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,
Dear Comrades,

We received most cordial messages of greetings replete with revolutionary friendship from you, both at the victorious opening and successful close of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The Albanian communists and working people held grand meetings and parades in all parts of the country, warmly celebrating the convening of the Ninth National Congress of our Party. We express the most heartfelt thanks for your militant friendship and tremendous political support.

We are extremely glad to inform the Albanian comrades-in-arms that, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Ninth National Congress of our Party wound up its proceedings with great success. This is a Congress with far-reaching influence in the history of our Party, a Congress of unity and a congress of victory. At present, our whole Party and all the people of the country are striving, under the leadership of the Ninth Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-chairman Lin as its deputy leader, to fulfil every militant task set forth by the Ninth National Congress and to win still greater victory throughout the country.

The glorious Party of Labor of Albania headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the heroic Albanian people are the closest and staunchest comrades-in-arms of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese people, in the common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet re-

visionist renegade clique as its centre and all reaction. You have always held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, fought valiantly and performed immortal meritorious exploits for the cause of world revolution. We extend to you our warm and militant salute.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward, on the other hand, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises, beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and find themselves in an impasse. They are engaged in arms expansion and war preparation in a vain attempt to put up a death-bed struggle through launching new war ventures. But this can only hasten their doom. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will always uphold proletarian internationalism and always unite with the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people, with all the genuine Marxist-Leninist political parties and Marxist-Leninists all over the world and with all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, and wage a joint battle for smashing thoroughly the plot of U.S. — Soviet collusion to re-divide the world and for carrying through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Victory definitely belongs to us.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

May, 27, 1969

THE SOVIET-U.S. COLLABORATION PREVAILED AT THE BUDAPEST WARSAW TREATY CONFERENCE

A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty was held in Budapest at the beginning of this week. This meeting of the chieftains of the revisionist countries was the first one after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist troops and their satellites which gave rise to disagreements and caused confusion among the ranks of the revisionist front. The Soviet revisionist leaders viewed such a meeting at high level attended by all the members of the Warsaw Treaty without exception, as a measure to influence public opinion, to represent the revisionist family in the eyes of the world as united and to show that it has forgotten its quarrels and overcome its contradictions.

But all this farce, though staged with much care, could not hide the further deterioration and degeneration of the Warsaw Treaty organisation. The meeting proceeded in a gloomy atmosphere fraught with many political, economic and military contradictions and with the continuous pressure of the Soviet chieftains who want to impose their hegemonic dictate upon the other partners.

According to the official communique, which was published following a hasty meeting which lasted only two hours, some measures were taken in Budapest regarding the inner organisation of the Treaty and a call was addressed to the European countries «to discuss the question of European security and peaceful co-existence». What attracts one's attention to these documents is not what is said in them but what is left unsaid.

When one analyses the procedure of the meeting and what resulted from it, one can not help asking the question: Why were the Soviet leaders obliged to travel by train for

nearly a week up to Budapest and back for an only two-hour long meeting, including here the long-lasting photoreporters' ceremonies, the participants' signatures on the concluding documents, etc?

The recent «call» directed to Europe is one of the stalest documents the revisionist diplomacy has ever put into light. It repeats, in a mechanical way, both in form and contents, the calls the revisionist chieftains issued in 1966 at the end of the Warsaw Treaty Conference and that of the Karlovy Vary meeting of revisionist parties, with the exception that in the Budapest Call imperialism is hardly condemned and, far from taking up a clear-cut stand toward the actual great international problems, these are not even mentioned there. This old copy hastily drawn out of dusty files and an obscure communique on the termination of the proceedings of the meeting, as all the foreign newspapers rightly point out, were aimed at replacing some other document of the Soviet leaders, which due to disagreements and contradictions with their partners, they could not broach. There is no doubt that the Budapest Conference was called on the initiative of the Kremlin rulers to serve the aims of their foreign policy, just as it cannot be doubted that they have been its sponsors and managers. They have long made preparations for this ever since their occupation of Czechoslovakia. Nearly all the chief leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member countries have undertaken frequent journeys to Moscow, without mentioning here the repeated visits of Yakubovsky and other personalities of the Soviet Union to revisionist Capitals. Can it be imagined that, in these frequent meetings and long-lasting negotiations, they have spoken only of how to put into circulation the notorious revisionist plan of the so-called European security and have neglected to speak of the major international questions which have throttled, first and foremost, the Kremlin chieftains themselves?

On the opening day of the Budapest Conference on the 17th of March, the Czechoslovak revisionist newspaper «Rude Pravo» did in fact write that «the negotiations will affect the recent Berlin crisis, the aggravation of the situation in the Middle East and, last but not least, the armed clashes on the Sino-Soviet frontier». «Since it will be the first session of the political Consultative Committee after the intervention of the Warsaw Treaty troops in Czechoslovakia», the newspaper went on, «it is impossible not to discuss the Czechoslovak question as well».

But the Budapest «Call» mentions none of these problems. The words «fight against imperialism» do not exist there, Vietnam and the Middle East are not mentioned, even «the danger of German revanchism», a topic much dear to revisionist propaganda, this time has been played down. This once more confirms that the Soviet and other revisionists, who pretend to be ardent supporters of the Vietnamese people, are sacrificing Vietnam on the altar of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration, just as they sacrifice the interests of the Arabian people as well, etc.

Are these actions casual? No one can believe it. From the text of the Call itself as well as from various comments and informations, it turns out that the main purpose of calling the Warsaw Treaty Conference was to prepare the negotiations between the Soviet chieftains and the new President of the U.S.A., Richard Nixon. Just as Nixon who, before sitting at the bargain table with the Soviet, met with his European N.A.T.O. partners to ensure their solidarity and support for his future bargains, so did the Kremlin chieftains act in Budapest with their partners of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Budapest «Call» mentions none of the major problems preoccupying the world, even in the usual revisionist political formulas, because Brezhnev and Kosygin want to assure Nixon that they do not like to adopt premeditated stands, which would prejudice the future Soviet-U.S. negotiations at high level. They want to say to the U.S. President that they will discuss and settle all the questions together, starting from a field of action open to every compromise and solution. For this purpose, they have the approval of all the Warsaw Treaty partners, as the unanimous signing of the Call by all the participants shows. Moreover, thus they intend to give the impression that the chieftains of the revisionist countries regard these negotiations very favorably and that they are predisposed to make their uttermost in order to create beforehand a much favorable situation to negotiations.

Mentioning the German problem and repeating the stands adopted by the Soviet revisionists, but approved neither by Bonn nor Washington, would put a sort of discordant note in and trouble the generally quiet atmosphere with great and harsh international issues awaiting the Soviet-U.S. meeting at high level. But this only seems so. The German question could actually not have been left out of a public Warsaw Treaty document which, moreover, is concerned with Europe

and the so-called European security. The Soviet leaders needed this omission to cover their Berlin bluff and hush up the empty noise they raised about the election of the German Federal Republic President in West Berlin. They are striving now to calm down Ulbricht and his friends whom they left in the lurch, discredited and confused before the entire German people and all the world at their most critical moment showing, thus, that the Ulbricht clique is nothing else but a mere satellite of the Soviet revisionists and their plaything in the Soviet-U.S. co-operation maneuvers. That the German question is only formally taken up in the Budapest document, this is well understood both by Nixon and Kissinger, for the fuss the Soviet revisionists made in connection with the presidential elections was of no other consequence but to further discredit Ulbricht's clique. It is not casual that the Bonn government was the first to ardently hail the Budapest Call through its Minister for Foreign Affairs Willy Brandt.

The revisionist participants at the Budapest meeting are striving to represent their only two hour long official meeting as an expression of the alleged unanimity of views on the problems discussed. Two hours may have sufficed to arrive at the conclusion that they cannot come to terms with one another, but they certainly are not enough for discussing and deciding upon a political line or even some of the concrete actions to be taken in the Berlin question and the Middle East situation, for investigating the destinies of Europe and the war in the Far East, the German question and the structural transformations of a military organisation. In fact there was no unanimity, but failure, all-round failure.

It is known that the great desire of the renegade leaders of the Soviet Union has been to condemn China. They have long since tried by every means to assure the support of their satellites for their provoking and imperialist anti-China policy in Budapest. Brezhnev and Kosygin required from the revisionist countries precisely such a unanimous backing for their policy and activity against the People's Republic of China. That the Kremlin chieftains undertook such a tedious journey to Budapest only for this purpose, this was emphasized by all foreign press commentators without exception who went to the capital city of Hungary to follow the proceedings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. The participants at the Budapest meeting themselves, who have now adopted the bourgeois style of exchanging confidences with

the big capitalist press, made so many indiscretions that no place has been left to doubt. At the Budapest meeting the Moscow chieftains did their uttermost to wrest a document that would call Soviet revisionism «a victim to Chinese aggression». But this was not and could not be arrived at a meeting, where the participants themselves are diffident toward one another, where every one suspects and is on guard against the other's intentions, when everyone wants to see the other partners worse off so as to relieve himself of the pressure put on him by the big czar and extend the domain of his own narrow interests.

News agencies and foreign newspaper correspondents in Budapest, including those of Czechoslovakia, emphasized that, prior to the plenary session held on Monday afternoon, the revisionist delegations held bilateral or group meetings. Rumania is not mentioned to have taken part at these meetings. The «Chinese question» must most certainly have been a topic discussed at the meetings and Brezhnev and Kosygin must have asked their partners to do all they can to participate in the struggle against the People's Republic of China, its Communist Party and the great Chinese people. This can be deduced from informations by various press organs close to the Budapest revisionist circles, which wrote that the Moscow chieftains had requested their Warsaw Treaty partners to send troop contingents to the Far East.

But even on this issue there must have been divergences and lack of unanimity, though the present Kremlin rulers will continue their attempts to bring the other revisionist countries to line with their anti-China policy. In this matter they cannot lose all hopes as long as these countries are ruled by revisionist cliques, inured to treachery, to conspiracies and ignominious capitulations, as long as these countries will continue to be members of the Warsaw Treaty, which, as the Czechoslovakia case demonstrated, has turned into a mere instrument of the imperialist aggressive policy of the Soviet revisionists against the peoples' freedom and independence.

Hence, it is evident that the armed provocations along the Sino-Soviet frontier in the Far East have been launched by the Soviet revisionists for the purpose, among others, of tightening the screws on their satellites and hitching them tightly to the cart of their hegemonic policy and Soviet-U.S. co-operation. But especially, in the light of the Budapest Conference, it turns out clearly that the Usuri provocations

had been staged by the chieftains of Soviet revisionism in order to pave the way for their future negotiations with Nixon, to tell him that they should come to terms with each other on all issues, China being «Enemy Number One» of both of them. Nixon has cast his shadow over the whole scene of the Budapest negotiations of the Warsaw Treaty revisionists.

The Budapest Conference exposed once more before the world the ill-famed «peace in Europe, war in Asia» policy of the Soviet revisionists. In spite of their demagogy; all the efforts the authors of this meeting make to conceal the anti-revolutionary and anti-China character of this meeting have come to naught. The new Call addressed to the bourgeois governments of Europe, a document composed of the pacifist phraseology of the happiest days of Nikita Khrushchev, is in reality a call directed to the U.S. imperialists to come to terms with the Soviet revisionists to maintain the equilibrium of forces in Europe, to respect the zones of influence on this continent by spearheading all their arrows against Mao Tse-tung's great People's China which has become a powerful and unsurmountable obstacle to the U.S. and Soviet imperialists in carrying out their plans to dominate the world and to get the backing of the imperialists for the Soviet government in its aggressive anti-China policy.

Many press correspondents have connected the timing of the Warsaw Treaty Conference with the proceedings of the 9th Congress of the Yugoslav revisionists. They emphasized that this was not a coincidence. In fact we are well aware of the pressure the Soviet leaders have recently exerted on Yugoslavia to compel it to stick to the Soviet line, especially as far as the relations with the other revisionist countries are concerned. The Soviet leaders, particularly after their fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia, do not like to tolerate any Yugoslav activity in the satellite countries, activities which they view as an encroachment upon their hegemony. Nor do they approve of Belgrade's approach to and collaboration with Bucharest, just as the Titoites, on their part, do not approve Moscow's pressure on Rumania. These temporary frictions between the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists often become, as they have actually become, very acute, and the Soviets, by inciting and encouraging the megalomaniac Servian and Rankovich group against the Croatian-Slovenian group on the eve of the Yugoslav «Communist» League Congress, show to Tito that they have other trump cards in their hands to exert pressure by.

Thus, on the issue of the stand to be taken towards Yugoslavia, too, the Soviet leaders suffered a further defeat at Budapest. They were unable to impose a common line of action on the other partners. The way the revisionists approached the problem of their presentation at the recent Titoite Congress shows how far apart they stand with regard to Yugoslavia. The Rumanians, for instance, went to Belgrade and occupied one of the most honored seats among the foreign guests. The Czechoslovaks did not go since, as it appears, they could not get Moscow's permission to do so, but the Czech press wrote at large and in very congenial terms about it. The Bulgarians and Mongolians had officially informed the Yugoslavs that they would send their delegations to their Congress but later went back on their word. It goes without saying that all this confusion could not have been caused by anything else but the last minute dictate of the Soviet revisionists demanding of their satellites to carry out their will on this issue.

But none of these prevented Tito from holding his Congress and pursuing his well-known political line. Moreover, the Budapest meeting and the split that emerged there among the Warsaw Treaty partners in connection with Yugoslavia present further opportunities for Tito's clique to keep up their anti-Marxist line in the service of imperialism in other revisionist countries.

Another problem in the agenda of the recent Warsaw Treaty meeting was that of Czechoslovakia. The final communiqué makes no mention of it. But the whole staging of this meeting was so carefully arranged as to give the impression that the situation in Czechoslovakia has allegedly turned to normal along the lines mapped out by the Soviet invaders. A proof to substantiate this claim would lie in the apparent complete unity which would allegedly exist on all matters under discussion, a unity which would not have been arrived at if there existed different appraisals or divergencies regarding Czechoslovakia. Dubchek's appointment to preside the meeting as well as Brezhnev's hypocritical expressions of high esteem and congratulations for his «brilliant presiding at the meeting» serve the same purpose. But no matter how much the revisionists may try to polish it, the Czechoslovak issue remains an open wound and a heavy indictment on all the revisionists, on both those who sent their tanks to place the Czechoslovak people under bondage and the Dubchek-

Swoboda-Czernik clique which, as it demonstrated once again by its stand at Budapest, has turned into a despicable tool of the Soviet revisionist invaders and which cannot expect a better end at the hands of the Czechoslovak people than that which history holds in store for all renegades and traitors.

In the political schemes of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, the Budapest meeting had to provide also a vantage ground for the forthcoming meeting of the revisionist parties which is said to hold its proceedings in Moscow in May. The Soviet revisionist clique viewed the Budapest meeting as a suitable occasion to wrest as many concessions as possible from their Warsaw Treaty partners on the issues they intend to take up at the Moscow meeting. But since neither the Budapest Communiqué nor its Call and the information issuing from the preparatory commission meeting in Moscow make any mention of it, it goes to show that in this question, too, the Soviet revisionist chieftains have not been able to impose their theses on their partners and the divergencies stand and keep growing.

The Communiqué of the Budapest meeting touches also on some decisions of an organizational character, like that of setting up a Committee of the Ministers of Defense, etc. These are thumbs that Kremlin throws to its satellites in order to create some sort of illusion that they, too, have a part in the joint command. As a matter of fact, the Moscow imperialists make no concessions on the absolute control and hegemonic domination they exercise over this aggressive pact. Whatever step they take, politically or organizationally, aims at tightening the screws on the control mechanism in order to further consolidate their dictatorial sway over the satellite countries, over their economy and armies.

As the events of these recent years and, especially, the fascist type aggression against Czechoslovakia have clearly pointed out, the Warsaw Treaty has long been turned into an instrument of political blackmail and military aggression in the hands of the Soviet revisionist clique to force their chauvinist and imperialist policy on their partners, to turn whole States in Eastern Europe into colonies of the Soviet revisionist imperialists. As verified also of late at the Budapest meeting, the Warsaw Treaty is used by the Kremlin clique as a medium of bargain with its partners — the U.S. imperialists — at the cost of the real freedom, independence and security of the peoples of the world.

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